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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-093
Friday
13 May 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Nazarkin on Chemical Weapons Monitoring

LD1205180788 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 12 TASS—"Until recently the West was asserting that the USSR was not prepared for openness, for the implementation of verification of disarmament. But when the USSR declared for the establishment of a system of strict and obligatory international monitoring, it turned out that some of our partners in the negotiations, above all the United States, were simply unprepared for this", head of the USSR delegation to the conference on disarmament, Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin said in an interview to TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev.

Yuriy Nazarkin cited the following fact: In August of last year the USSR proclaimed the readiness for compulsory challenge on-site inspections, that is inspections in cases when there is suspicion that a convention on banning and destroying chemical weapons is violated. The West has been insisting on such inspections for long. "The Soviet Union's statement was applauded", the amassador said. "But then they in the West started talking about obstacles to this control in Western countries. It was said that this can infringe on the interests of the privately-owned industry". The matter is, Yuriy Nazarkin said, that the convention puruses the aim of not only eliminating chemical weapons, but also of preventing any possibility of its production. International monitoring bodies which will be created must have a right and opportunity to inspect enterprises of the commercial industry which are capable of producing chemical weapons. This refers, above all, to such enterprises as deal with substances close in their composition and properties to chemical weapons, the ambassador said. "There is a need for strict monitoring so as not to go beyond the line separating civilian products from military. It is this kind of monitoring that some Western countries now try to avoid. They declare that it is 'radical' in the extreme."

Touching upon the arrangement between the USSR and Great Britain on the exchange of visits for inspection, Yuriy Nazarkin said that this question has a bearing on the area of confidence. He said progress in this area can and must speed up the pace of talks on a convention. A convincing example of this is the invitation of all participants in the talks to the Soviet facilities in Shikhany in the autumn of last year. This was a clear sign of the Soviet Union's readiness to give up chemical weapons. The visit to Shikhany undoubtedly helped create a favourable atmosphere, he said.

The Soviet Union views in this sense the coming trip of 12 Soviet experts on May 22 to Great Britain, to Porton Down where a centre of research in the area of chemical weapons and protection against them is situated.

On a reciprocal basis, the USSR invited the British side for a second visit to the facilities in Shikhany, this time on a bilateral basis. The trip will take place from June 30 to July 4. Twelve British experts will visit the Shikhany facilities. They are permitted to use cine- and photo cameras and recording equipment. "At Shikhany they will be given the information about chemical weapons, protection against them, detection and identificiation of toxic agents, toxicology, elimination of the consequences of the use of chemical weapons and destruction of chemical weapons", Yuriy Nazarkin said.

British Scientists To Monitor Nuclear Tests

LD1105194888 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1415 GMT 11 May 88

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defense correspondent]

[Text] Three British scientists fly to Moscow today to sign an agreement to set up the first British independent seismic station to monitor Soviet nuclear weapons tests.

It is hoped to have the station operating by the late summer at garm, about 620 miles south of the Soviet nuclear weapons test site at Semipalatinsk.

The scientists, Dr Frank Barnaby, Dr David Davies and Dr Aftab Khan, view the Soviet Union's agreement as a significant advance in the Gorbachev policy of increased openness.

The station, to be set up under the banner of the British Seismic Verification Research Project, will help solve a long-standing dispute between government scientists in Britain and America and independent experts.

Both governments insist it is impossible to verify low-level nuclear weapons tests—the major stumbling block to a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Independent seismologists claim that recent technological advances now make it possible to detect such explosions as small as one kiloton.

The British station will join five new posts to be set up by teams of independent American scientists.

It is hoped other countries, such as Australia, West Germany and Sweden will join the initiative to establish a large network of about 20 stations.

Dr Barnaby, the British project secretary, said: "The more stations we have, the more certain we will be about being able to verify low-level explosions."

He was certain Mr Gorbachev wanted a test ban treaty to convince his military commanders not to oppose too strongly cuts in the Soviet defence budget.

"Cuts are necessary if Gorbachev is to succeed and a test ban treaty is a major part of the process because it would stop the further development of nuclear weapons," he said.

Once the British station is fully operational it will be manned on a monthly rotational basis by two research students at a time.

Shevardnadze To Brief Pact on Shultz Talks

LD1105162288 Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] (DPA)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will brief his Warsaw Pact colleagues in East Berlin on Friday on his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Geneva and on the preparations for the meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan in Moscow. This was learned from a reliable source in Prague today.

Pact Disarmament Commission Meeting Ends

LD1205195188MoscowTASSinEnglish1908 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 12 TASS—The second session of the Special Commission on Disarmament Issues of the Warsaw Treaty member states was held in Warsaw on May 10-12. The delegations included senior representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence.

The session considered measures to expedite the start of talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals as well as the state of affairs at consultations between representatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO in Vienna on working out their mandate.

The elaboration of a joint concept of future talks and possible measures to remove the threat of a sudden attack was continued.

Other matters concerning arms limitation and disarmament, confidence- and security-building measures as well as further work of the commission were discussed as well.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs, met with the participants in the session.

Gribkov Interviewed on Warsaw Treaty Anniversary

LD1205110788 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty nations proceed from the premise that war as a means of policy is utterly unacceptable, seeing military superiority is futile and the arms race is senseless, according to General of the Army Anatoliy Gribkov.

First deputy commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty members, he was speaking in a TASS interview on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty to be marked May 14.

"Our military doctrine is purely defensive. It is wholly subordinate to fulfilling the most important political task of the times, which is to prevent war, either nuclear or conventional," General Gribkov said.

Speaking of the international situation in view of the signature of the INF Treaty, he noted that "although the treaty has not yet been ratified, everybody can see that this event has played and keeps playing an important role in bringing down international tension."

"This indicates, to my view," he continued, "that new thinking is not only affirming itself, but has already begun to influence world politics and yield positive results."

"Socialist countries have never been in favor of Europe's division into opposing military blocs. They have repeatedly proposed disbanding the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO at the same time and, as a first step, dismantling their military wings," General Gribkov said.

"But as long as the danger of war persists and social revanche remains the pivot of the strategy and militarist programs of the West, the countries of the socialist community have to do everything needed to maintain their defensive power at a level ruling out imperialism's military ascendancy over socialism.

"The Warsaw Treaty Organization will continue playing its role in enhancing the security of the socialist nations and ensuring general peace," he said.

Bogachev Views U.S. Response on Mediterranean

LD1205151688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 12 May 88

[Commentary by TASS military affairs observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Admiral Trost, U.S. chief of naval operations, has given an appraisal of the Soviet Union's proposals, expounded by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Yugoslavia, on reducing the level of military confrontation in the Mediterranean. The admiral acknowledged that these proposals have impressed certain parts of the European population and have been greeted enthusiastically by a number of European leaders, too. However, Trost thinks accepting the Soviet initiatives would undermine stability. Therefore, according to him, NATO must not allow itself to lean toward such a dangerous step.

Vladimir Bogachev, TASS military affairs observer, is at the microphone:

[Bogachev] First of all, I will remind you of the essence of the Soviet initiatives. The Soviet Union proposes as a first step that by 1 July the number of Soviet and U.S. naval ships in the Mediterranean should be frozen, and that an equal level for them should be fixed—for example, 15 warships and 10 auxiliary ships each—on the condition that the United States withdraw from the Mediterranean its multipurpose aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines carrying ballistic missiles, as the most destabilizing elements. Further, the USSR proposes that the USSR and United States give timely notification to each other and all Mediterranean countries of transfers of warships and of military exercises; they should also invite observers to these. The practice of giving notification of activities by naval forces would serve to strengthen confidence and the security of Europeans. The Soviet Union proposes that principles to guarantee the security of seaways, especially in international straits, should be drawn up.

The Soviet proposals envisage both an equal level of naval potential for the USSR and United States in the Mediterranean, and equal operating conditions, even though this sea is in direct proximity to the USSR's borders and is at a distance of 3,500 miles from U.S. shores.

These wide-ranging initiatives would appear to take U.S. interests into account and, therefore, should have met with a positive response in Washington. But this did not happen. What is the matter, then? Evidently, here, too, the conclusion of a mutually acceptable agreement hampers Washington's previous course toward achieving military superiority. The Pentagon is, as before, disregarding the security interests of the Mediterranean people and is moving toward unleashing a naval arms race in this region.

The United States' huge fleet in the Mediterranean is, apart from everything else, an instrument of neoglobalism, a means of force and pressure on the people of Africa and the Middle East who have set out on a path of independent development.

The problem of reducing the level of military confrontation in the Mediterranean is one [words indistinct] its solution. Now it is up to Washington.

International Chernobyl Conference Opens in Kiev

LD1105202388 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Kiev May 11 TASS—An international scientific conference opened in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev today to analyze the activities of medical services and the state of public health in areas affected by fallout from the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in April 1986.

More than 150 Soviet experts, including doctors and specialists in radiation protection, their colleagues from 24 countries and officials from the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and other international organizations are taking part.

Addressing them, Soviet Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov noted the effectiveness of large-scale government measures to lessen the impact of increased radioactivity levels on public health.

He said all data concerning the effects of the accident on public health has from the very first months been passed on to the IAEA and WHO and discussed at expert meetings.

The conference was greeted by IAEA Director-General Hans Blix who pointed to the importance of international exchanges of experience in ensuring safety in the nuclear power industry.

He spoke highly of efforts by Soviet scientists and specialists to deal with the aftermath of the accident and provide medical assistance, including preventive treatment, to the population.

The attending experts will visit the Chernobyl station tomorrow to obtain firsthand information about medical services directly involved in these efforts and related research.

They will continue discussions at the conference Friday.

IAEA Head on Nuclear Safety

PM1305134588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with IAEA Director General Hans Blix by NOVOSTI correspondent in Vienna G. Ostroumov: "Chernobyl and Safety Regulations"; date of interview not given—first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The scientific conference on "Medical Aspects of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station" currently under way in Kiev is being attended by around 100 representatives of scientific establishments from various countries as well as scientists from our country.

At SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's request, G. Ostroumov, NOVOSTI correspondent in Vienna, asked Hans Blix, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to answer a number of questions.

[Ostroumov] How do you assess the state and development prospects of nuclear power engineering in the world?

[Blix] At present, 417 nuclear power stations are in operation in 26 countries, and a further 110 stations are under construction. Understandably, Chernobyl and the earlier accident at Three Mile Island in the United States have seriously undermined confidence in nuclear power engineering. However, in my view, by increasing the safety of nuclear reactors, the sector will get over these major failures and find widespread application in the power generation industry of the future. The main thing we must attend to now is to preclude the possibility of accidents associated with substantial leaks of radioactivity.

Unquestionably, mankind's requirements for electricity will rise, and nuclear power generation is the most promising method of producing electricity. As is known, in most industrially developed countries, hydraulic power resources have been almost entirely opened up, and alternative sources such as wind and solar energy cannot provide electricity in sufficient quantities. As for petroleum, coal, and gas, it must be noted that although they will continue to occupy an important place in the world's energy balance, their utilization is accompanied by ecological problems. In this context, there are weighty arguments in favor of nuclear power generation—it does not cause either acid rain, which leads to the destruction of forests, or the greenhouse effect.

[Ostroumov] How do you assess the measures adopted in the USSR to enhance the safety of nuclear power stations?

[Blix] The concept of safety is not something static, something rigid, whether it applies to cars, aircraft, or nuclear power stations. We can and must constantly enhance safety. If the world had concluded during the initial stages of the development of aviation that the technology involved too great a risk, where would we be today?

After the Chernobyl accident, several measures were adopted in the USSR to enhance the safety of nuclear power stations. These were organizational measures of both a technical and administrative nature. I am confident that further steps will be taken to improve the safety situation at Soviet nuclear power stations. After Chernobyl, the USSR proposed that international regulations for the safe development of nuclear power engineering be adopted. This is a very good proposal. Over the past 2 years, the IAEA has done a great deal in cooperation with the USSR to enhance nuclear safety. In order to learn from each other, we must exchange the experience accumulated in this sphere throughout the world. The IAEA is called upon to serve as the focus of such cooperation. We offer service facilities to our organization's member states; for instance, we organize checks on the safe operation of nuclear power stations. Highly skilled experts are dispatched to IAEA member countries for this purpose. Incidentally, for the first time, we are sending such a group to the USSR this year.

[Ostroumov] Could you comment on the forecasts made in the West concerning the impact of the Chernobyl accident on people's health?

[Blix] Chernobyl gave rise to considerable concern in the Europe. Preventive measures were taken, but some of them were not justified. The impact on people's health in West Europe will be insignificant. This has been shown by research carried out under the aegis of the EEC and the OECD.

In the USSR, as a result of the accident, 30 people died and 200 suffered from radiation sickness. They were treated and have left the hospital. That is as far as the casualties go. As for the population in the rayons adjoining the nuclear power station site, they were subjected only to insignificant doses of radiation. I can say with the utmost confidence that the consequences of such doses of radiation will be insignificant, especially compared with the consequences of other technological influences.

Soviet experts are conducting extensive research to evaluate the long-term consequences of the Chernobyl accident, although the likelihood of such consequences is negligible. The IAEA will assist the USSR in this work.

UN Pugwash Symposium on Weapons Development

LD1305101588 Moscow Tass in English 0910 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] New York 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

A Pugwash symposium, which considered scientific and technological aspects of the development of new kinds of weapons, verification issues and universal security, ended its work at the U.N. Headquarters Thursday.

Professor Sergey Kapitsa of the Institute of Physical Problems of the Soviet Academy of Sciences told TASS that the symposium was marked by an atmosphere of unanimity and general support for the new political thinking.

Prominent scientists from dozens of countries discussed, in a comprehensive and constructive way, prospects for durable and nuclear-free peace in the world.

Speakers emphasised that it was the Soviet Union that showed an example of developing and practically implementing ideas of the new mentality, becoming a key to the solution of most difficult problems of the times.

The symposium worked out specific recommendations for the forthcoming 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament.

UN Plan for Central American Economies Noted

LD1305132588 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] New York May 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshov:

The U.N. General Assembly has approved the special plan for economic cooperation for Central America. It adopted by consensus on Thursday a resolution pointing to the need for international assistance to the Central American countries, which have committed themselves to improve the living standards of the peoples and ensure social justice as a basis for stable, durable peace.

The delegates to the resumed 42nd U.N. General Assembly session have expressed deep concern about the dramatic situation in Central America and the serious economic and social crisis, through which it is going. In that connection the resolution stresses that the implementation of the accords reached by the presidents of the Central American countries on ways towards establishing lasting, stable peace and the special plan for economic cooperation necessitate political will and determination with the aim of strengthening peace and developing cooperation in the region.

Peace and development are inseparable. This conclusion rang out in speeches by practically all the participants in the two-day debate on the plan. They stressed the need for freeing the peoples of Central America from interference from the outside, from economic blackmail and the attempts at preventing the elimination of tensions. The Contadora Group, Mario Moya-Palencia, permanent representative of Mexico to the U.N. stressed, has always pointed out that the seeds of the conflict in the region were sown by underdevelopment is designed to strengthen peace accords with non-interference from the outside.

Support for the special plan, whose implementation will play an important role in establishing lasting peace and ensuring the socio-economic development of the region, was declared by Evzen Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia's permanent representative to the U.N. on behalf of the socialist states. The Central American countries have demonstrated their determination to create effective political structures for a settlement of the problem which turned their region into one of the most dangerous seats of international tensions. But the attainment of that goal depends not only on them. Evzen Zapotocky stressed the need for putting an end to diplomatic, political and economic pressure on the countries of Central America including trade embargoes which undermine the process of ensuring peace in that region.

United States & Canada

Shultz, Shevardnadze Talks End; Accord Signed

INF 'Applicability' Agreement

LD1205162188 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz have just ended their meeting here.

In conclusion of the meeting, an agreement was signed in the Soviet mission between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States on the applicability of the INF Treaty to intermediate- and shorter-range missiles capable of carrying weapons based on existing and new physical principles ("exotic weapons").

The agreement was signed from the Soviet side by Ambassador Viktor Karpov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and from the American side, by Ambassador Max Kampelman.

Shultz Holds News Conference

LD1205184288 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 12 TASS—At the close of the Soviet-American talks, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz spoke at a press conference here today.

He pointed out that the talks had been held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The sides had sought to resolve matters which would be on the agenda of the upcoming summit meeting in Moscow.

Mr Shultz voiced satisfaction with Soviet explanations concerning on-site measures for verification of compliance with the INF Treaty as well as with the frankness of the exchange of views on human rights.

Shevardnadze Addresses Journalists

PM1305112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 7

[Text] Geneva, 12 May—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, addressed a news conference here today. Speaking to journalists, he said:

The latest meeting with the U.S. secretary of state, Mr. Shultz, is distinguished in many ways in the broad series of Soviet-American meetings at the ministerial level.

First of all, this was the last meeting before the Moscow summit between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Besides, it coincides with the concluding stage of the process of the ratification of the INF Treaty in our countries. I think that any of these events would demand a separate meeting of the ministers.

But the matter is not reduced to that only. Look at the content of the current negotiations. Many issues that had earlier been merely discussed were moved to the stage of decision. Of course, it is easier to exchange views rather than find solutions to complicated political problems. Among such problems are the treaty on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons, a convention on banning chemical weapons, a mandate for talks on conventional arms, limitation of nuclear testing and nonproliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons. As always, the agenda of the May round of talks included regional conflict situations, human rights, and issues of humanitarian cooperation.

Add the need for working out all aspects of the summit meeting, including preparation of major bilateral agreements, and you will get the impression of how compressed the schedule of the discussions was.

Our attention remains firmly focused on the agreements already signed, on the issues already resolved. We had not expected, for instance, that the treaty on the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles would generate a whole chain of problems, but it did. There are objective difficulties, but one should say that many difficulties are generated through misunderstanding; often they are real brain-twisters.

Well, such, apparently, is the nature of Soviet-U.S. relations at the current stage that we shall go on paying for our mutual distrust for a long time to come.

No matter how much time we are given, it is always lacking. Especially now, on the eve of the fourth Soviet-American summit. I think that both sides felt the burden of responsibility connected with the preparation of another summit.

We and our American partners continue to believe that advancement towards the elaboration of an agreement on cutting strategic offensive armaments while preserving the ABM Treaty is a central task.

In this context, you should be interested in the following fact: At the talks here with the secretary of state we handed over to the American side detailed information about the structure of the Soviet Union's strategic forces, including data on our sea-launched cruise missiles. The aim is to attain the highest possible levels in elaborating the agreement, fix them at the meeting of our leaders, and intensively to continue work.

I would like to single out the following aspect: The Moscow summit meeting is not the ultimate goal of this movement, it is an important stage on the way towards a new treaty. We came to this conclusion and so did the American side.

In the same way, what we have in mind is that the May meeting will provide a strong impetus for progress in other directions of the Soviet-American dialogue.

Highly fruitful was the discussion of the situation that has emerged at the Vienna meeting of the states-participants in the all-European process. We presented new, and, it seems to us, promising ideas with respect to untying the many knots in the field of humanitarian cooperation. Both ourselves and the U.S. representatives concurred that by now there exist all the necessary prerequisites for completing the Vienna meeting with weighty political agreements.

Substantial progress has been achieved on the question of verification of nuclear explosions and of their subsequent limitation and eventual discontinuance.

As regards the summit meeting, both sides proceed from the assumption that the general secretary and the President will hold an indepth exchange of opinions on the entire spectrum of problems of world politics, and examine in detail the principled aspects of the relations between the USSR and the USA.

We have confidence that the Moscow meeting will also become a major event in our relations, in world politics as a whole, and will enrich them both on the conceptual and practical levels.

Now about that part of the journey which we had deemed covered and to which we were forced to return. At issue, you will realize, is the INF Treaty. Here it is necessary to add clarity, to explain what the matter is.

Following the signing of the agreement and without waiting for its ratification, the sides decided to embark on preparatory work on the implementation of the verification functions provided for by the treaty. Reciprocal trips have been organized for the future inspectors to the objects subject to verification, and the relevant procedures and methods of verification were discussed.

And at that point certain problems cropped up, which is quite natural, since no single treaty, even the most perfect one, and the more so one with no analogies or precedents, can visualize all the possible variants and life situations. Aware of this, the co-authors of the treaty agreed on setting up a special verification commission called upon to solve possible disputes over particular provisions of the treaty.

In the course of the "rehearsals" held, both sides were left with some questions and claims.

I want you to know certain details. The American side raised the questions about the size criteria in inspections; about the inspection of the entire territory of the inspected object; about the verification of the technical data provided for by the memorandum on agreement; about the size and weight of the transport means checked on leaving the plant in the town of Votkinsk; about the nature of inspection equipment; about specifying the data on the length of the stages of Soviet rockets; about exchanging photographs of rockets with their head parts.

We felt concern on a number of questions, including on the matter of verification involving the "Pershing-1A" and "Pershing 2" rockets stationed in the territory of the United States. Considering this to be a perfectly normal phenomenon, we did not dramatize the situation.

Moreover, acting in the spirit of good will, the sides took the necessary steps to accomodate the concerns of one another.

In the final analysis, it was possible to eliminate the misunderstandings that had arisen, to remove them on the understanding that the criterion in a dispute must be the text of the treaty proper and not something else. We see a positive aspect to what has happened in that the vitality of the treaty and its ability to provide answers in complex situations have been vindicated. The treaty which has been signed at the summit level has passed the first test, the first examination.

However it would have been better in all respects if such strength tests were not arranged without any special need. Treaties and agreements require as careful an attitude to them as do the shoots of the positive in Soviet-American relations.

As you see, our talks have not been simple. The greater, then, is the satisfaction from their successful completion, from the laying of a new and solid groundwork for Soviet-American relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze then answered journalists' questions.

Shevardnadze Answers Questions

LD1205223888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2104 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Geneva, 12 May (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze answered questions from journalists:

Question: You said in your speech that the nature of Soviet-U.S. relations is as yet such that one must pay for mutual distrust. It was precisely because of this that the latest dispute arose. Do you think relations have changed so much that in the future it will not be necessary to pay so heavy a price?

And another question, a personal one. What do you think of the path you have traveled in relations with the United States since your first meeting with Secretary of State G. Shultz in Helsinki in 1985? Do you feel that you now have a new relationship with U.S. diplomacy?

Answer: Soviet-U.S. relations are a very complex phenomenon. In the years that have passed since Geneva, much has been done. In spite of disagreements of principle and divergencies in views, philosophy and ideology, I think we have, nonetheless, succeeded in laying a foundation for the normalization and improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. The meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President R. Reagan in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington are undoubtedly of enormous and lasting importance for the further development of Soviet-U.S. relations and for strengthening the atmosphere of trust between our peoples and states.

As for relations between the foreign ministers of the United States and USSR, I would say they promote the solution of these difficult tasks. Our present meeting is the 26th. I think that fact is highly significant in itself.

Our talks and conversations take place in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere, an atmosphere of principle entirely devoid of rhetoric and demagogy. Such an atmosphere helps us to defend better the interests of our countries and work fruitfully in the interests of peace, security, and international cooperation.

Question: How can the other European states which are members of the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO assist the development of a European dialogue? What feature was the most difficult in the talks?

Answer: All European states, both the members of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the U.S. NATO allies, can assist—and are assisting—the development and deepening of our cooperation, the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

As regards the most difficult question, I would not wish to single one out—there were many such questions. Questions connected with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles were called technical. However, we saw for ourselves that this is not the case. They are important and required political solutions. Such solutions were found.

Question: We have learned that today the sides signed two documents regarding intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We do not know their content. Do you believe that they will remove the anxiety of the U.S. Senate?

Answer: We believe that the jointly approved documents will be quite sufficient. I have enumerated the main problems and questions for which resolutions were found during these 2 days I think that the representatives of the U.S. Administration with whom we held the talks also believe that replies are given to all questions which are sufficient for the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the USSR and the United States.

Question: Can you give us any details regarding elimination of the misunderstandings on the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty, particularly on the first two matters you mentioned, that is, on the size of the containers that will be inspected and on the access of U.S. inspectors to Soviet missile installations?

Answer: You know, technically these matters are so specific that it is very difficult—impossible almost—to give details at a press conference. The main thing is that they have been resolved.

Question: Do you believe agreement is possible between the USSR and the United States on the basis of the Shultz plan for a Near East settlement? If not, have you a plan of your own for the peaceful settlement of the Near East problem? And another question: Is the visit by Israeli Minister Peres to Hungary a portent of an improvement in relations between the USSR and Israel?

Answer: In our opinion, the Shultz plan does contain elements which, if implemented, could facilitate a political settlement to the Near East problem. In particular there is the acknowledgement by the United States of the need for an international conference to be called with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council. As for our considerations of principle and our approaches to a Near East settlement, these were clearly and precisely set out by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, at his meeting with Yasir 'Arafat, the published report with which, I should think, you are well acquainted.

The visit by the Israeli foreign minister to Hungary has no bearing on Soviet-Israeli relations. This was an independent step, taken within the framework of bilateral relations.

Question: On your arrival in Geneva, you stated that you had brought fresh proposals on reducing conventional armaments, and, in particular, on working out the mandate for these talks. Could you dwell in more detail on the proposals? How did the U.S. delegation react to them?

Answer: We had a fruitful dialogue on this problem. The sides managed to bring their positions considerably closer together on the question of working out the mandate for future talks. The appropriate considerations have been conveyed to our delegations in Vienna, where they will consult with their partners in the negotiations. In Berlin tomorrow I shall have a meeting with my colleagues, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries. In the GDR capital, we will hold detailed consultations on working out the mandate for future talks.

Question: At your meeting with Mr Shultz, did you discuss the question of the situation in Central America? The other day, a spokesman for the U.S. Administration stated that the Soviet Union could make its contribution to a settlement of the situation in the region, since it is supplying Nicaragua with weapons to the value of $500-600 million.

Answer: Yes, the question was discussed. At each of our meetings the situation in Central America has been discussed most thoroughly. We believe that interesting processes are taking place in this region, and among them the leading process is the trend toward national reconciliation. It is the task of all states interested in a settlement of the situation in this region to support this healthy trend. As far as arms deliveries are concerned, I have already had occasion to speak of this several times. We proposed to the United States that on a mutual basis there be a renunciation of arms deliveries to the Central American region. Let me remind you that this proposal was submitted by M.S. Gorbachev at the summit meeting in Washington. However, it did not receive the support of the U.S. side.

Question: According to the Geneva agreements, Soviet troops will start leaving Afghanistan 3 days from now. To what extent was this question examined at your talks and can you say something in connection with the cessation of your 8-year involvement in this conflict? And a second question: Is there anything new in the examination of the Iran-Iraq conflict?

Answer: A good deal has been said about Afghanistan and the Geneva agreements. You are probably familiar with the documents which were signed here in Geneva on 14 April this year.

From 15 May the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will commence and this process will be completed early next year. I have no other special news for you.

The irreproachable fulfillment of all the obligations which were undertaken by Pakistan and Afghanistan and respectively by the Soviet Union and the United States, who have acted as guarantors, is now the main task.

There were no new elements in the discussion of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

I know that a press conference has been set for approximately this time with the U.S. secretary of state. Let's conclude our current dialogue so that you don't arrive there late.

Thank you for your attention.

TV Reports Meeting

LD1205201088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Comrades, we have just received this reportage from Geneva, where the talks between Comrade Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz ended today: [Correspondent V. Dmitriyev—identified by captioned] In November 1985, this city on the shore of Lake Geneva opened its arms to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and to the U.S. President. [video shows Geneva street scenes] The joint statement on the results of their first meeting expressed agreement on the need to improve Soviet-U.S. relations and to make the international situation generally more healthy. In this connection, confirmation was given of the importance of a constant dialogue which would reflect the parties' serious endeavors to seek points of contact on existing problems.

The dialogue in the Geneva spirit is continuing at various levels. Practical preparations are underway for the fourth meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan slated for late-May/early-June in Moscow. And it was this that was under discussion at the talks between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and George Shultz, talks which in themselves also testify to the intensity of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. The two countries' foreign ministers have already met 25 times and here they are again. In line with the existing tradition here, this new meeting was held alternately in the Soviet and U.S. missions. It attracted a great deal of attention from the world press, television, and radio companies. The agenda contained key issues of international security and disarmament, the most important aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations, humanitarian problems, and regional conflicts. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Leaves for East Berlin

LD1305082288 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, left Geneva for Berlin today upon the completion of his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Shevardnadze was seen off at the airport by Soviet Ambassador to Switzerland Zoya Novozhilova, Soviet Ambassador to the U.N. office and other international organisations in Geneva Yevgeniy Makeyev, and representatives of local authorities.

In Berlin the Soviet minister will take part in a meeting of foreign ministers of socialist countries.

Senate Delay on INF Treaty 'Purely Technical'

LD1205120788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 12 May 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] News agencies are of course paying much attention to the decision of the leadership of the U.S. Senate to postpone indefinitely the beginning of the examination of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. According to reports from Washington, President Reagan met in the White House with the Republican leaders in the Senate and discussed with them the situation that has developed. According to a White House spokesman, the issues which caused the postponement of the discussion of the treaty in the Senate are of a purely technical nature and should be resolved soon. As for the senators, one of them, Richard Lugar, said in particular that both the Republicans and the Democrats are demonstrating goodwill and a desire to ratify the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

Congress Discusses U.S. Military Budget

'Keen Debate' on SDI

LD1205164188 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Washington May 12 TASS—The U.S. House of Representatives by 252 votes to 172 endorsed on Wednesday a bill on military appropriations for the 1989 fiscal year. The appropriations are set at 299,500 million dollars.

This figure was fixed way back at the end of last year when administration and Congress members worked out a budgetary compromise aimed at gradually reducing the deficit of the federal budget. Since the general ceiling on military spending had been set before, it remained for the law makers to solve the question of appropriations for specific military programmes.

A keen debate developed during the discussion of the bill over the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme of President Reagan aimed at developing a large-scale anti-missile defence system with space-based elements. In a draft budget for next fiscal year the administration requested 4,600 million dollars for the programme. The bill endorsed by the U.S. House of Representatives envisages appropriations for this programme at 3,500 million dollars.

Attitude to the SDI programme is different in the U.S. Senate which continues discussing its version of the military appropriation bill for the next fiscal year. The Senate Armed Services Committee declared for allocating 4,550 million dollars for work under the SDI programme. One hour before the U.S. House of Representatives began voting on the bill, the Senate by a two-vote margin turned down an amendment under which the sum was to be reduced by 700 million dollars.

After the Senate adopts its version of the military appropriations bill, both versions—those of the Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives—would be referred to the House-Senate Committee of the U.S. Congress.

The UPI news agency pointed out that the question of appropriations for SDI would become a big problem during the elaboration of a compromise version of the military appropriations bill.

Persian Gulf Amendment Rejected

LD1305105488 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Washington May 13 TASS—The Senate has voted down by 82 votes against 13 an amendment to the military appropriations bill for the fiscal year 1989, which provided in particular for the creation of a multinational force for the defence of the ships of non-belligerents in the Persian Gulf.

The amendment, however, did not provide for the withdrawal of the U.S. naval ships from the Persian Gulf. It demanded that the administration present a specific plan to determine the definite aims of the United States in that area. Senator Brock Adams, Democrat, Washington, who initiated that amendment made it clear that he did not call in question the stay of the U.S. naval force in the Persian Gulf, yet he had serious reservations about how this operation is being carried out.

China

Li Peng Cited on Reform Policies, Detente

PM1305081788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 May 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Expanding Foreign Ties"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 May—The PRC Government will be continuing its policy of reforms and the expansion of ties with the rest of the world, Li Peng, member of the CPC Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, said at a meeting with Irish President Patrick J. Hillery, who is on an official visit here. In the process of reforms, the Chinese leader observed, it is intended to create a planned commodity economy and increase the role of the market in place of the former traditional, highly centralized economic model. The state will carry out general supervision of economic activity and seek ways to ensure a balance among prices, wages, and the state budget.

Li Peng welcomed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and expressed his hope that the Soviet-U.S. talks to halve strategic offensive arms will be successful. The present relaxation in international tension, he added, is also welcomed. However, the peoples of the world should remain vigilant regarding the threat of war.

Ways To Boost Mutual Trade Examined

PM1305090388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 May 88 p 3

[Article by special correspondent A. Zaytsev and economist E. Mayskiy: "USSR-PRC: Trade Potential"]

[Text] Moscow—Only a few years ago the prospects for USSR-PRC trade and economic ties elicited nothing but optimism. During 1983-1984 the volume of two-way trade was doubling annually. In 1985 the two countries' deputy heads of government signed a long-term intergovernmental trade agreement for 1986-1990—the first in the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. It provided, inter alia, for a doubling of commodity turnover during the 5-year period.

In that cheerful atmosphere individual alarming notes were not immediately heard. But a year or two later problems which had previously been pushed into the background by the impressive dynamics of two-way trade made themselves felt.

Although machinery and equipment occupy quite a significant place in Soviet exports to China, they are far from always able to withstand the growing competition in that market. Very frequently our Chinese partners are not satisfied with over-long delivery times and the quality of Soviet equipment. As a result, the products list has begun to shrink. In addition, the drawing of an ever increasing volume of goods into trade has exacerbated the problem of transporting and transshipping freight.

As a result, the rate of increase in commodity turnover fell appreciably: from 60 percent in 1985 to 16 percent in 1986. And last year the trade volume even fell in cost terms. The trade protocol for this year provides for a 30-percent increase in mutual trade. But, even given this condition, the annual volume of commodity turnover envisaged in the long-term agreement for the end of the 5-year plan—R3 billion—will hardly be reached.

All this attests that the reserves for horizontal growth of trade on both sides are increasingly being exhausted. But does this mean that the trade level reached fully reflects the two countries' economic potentials? Of course not. Life simply poses point-blank the task of achieving a qualitative shift in Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations by assimilating new forms of cooperation.

In fact, it is not a question of anything totally new. For example, assistance in constructing national economic projects in the PRC was a very important part of our relations in the fifties. The 1985 signing of the agreement on economic and technical cooperation in constructing and modernizing industrial projects in China revived that form. However, it soon came to light that in many ways the substance of the agreement does not correspond to the economic realities in the two countries. China frequently lacks the financial and material resources for implementing it, while the Soviet Union is not always prepared to provide its partner with a package of services at world standards. True, the sides note the existence of broad prospects for cooperation in certain sectors, particularly power generation, but things are still moving too slowly.

Under these conditions it seems expedient to develop cooperation on a "wider front." Growth in the traditional form of trade within the framework of intergovernmental agreements must be combined with the development and activation of bilateral ties along other channels. One of them is border trade, which has increased to R50 million in recent years, but in its present form it is incommensurate with the overall trade volume. Now that the mechanism of foreign economic ties is being restructured in both the USSR and the PRC, local organs, departments, organizations, and enterprises can and must make wider and more active use of the rights granted them to carry out trade and economic cooperation. Only given an interested approach "locally" will border trade become a full-value and full-weight addition to "big" trade.

There are also considerable reserves for deepening economic cooperation in organizing direct economic ties between enterprises and organizations in the two countries. This entails such nontraditional forms as the processing of "customer-supplied" [davalcheskiy] raw materials, industrial collaboration, and the creation of joint enterprises in various spheres.

The Chinese side's readiness to take this path can already be felt. A number of provincial PRC trade companies, which have been granted the right to independently conduct export-import operations with our country, are actively seeking potential partners in the USSR. One of us saw this for himself on a quite recent visit to Heilongjiang Province, which borders on the Soviet Far East.

Li Naixiang, general director of Harbin Foreign Trade Company, outlined a wide range of possible joint projects with the USSR. They include, for example, the organization of supplies of fresh vegetables and other agricultural products to the population of nearby Soviet regions in exchange for equipment, fertilizers, construction materials, and other goods. In Li Naixiang's opinion, deliveries of Chinese-made mixed feed to the regions of large Siberian industrial centers to provide them with livestock products have great prospects.

The company's proposals to create a "Russian street" in Harbin and, correspondingly, a "Chinese street" in Khabarovsk arouse undoubted interest. It would be possible to site on them restaurants serving national dishes, stores trading exclusively in Soviet and Chinese goods, movie theaters, cultural and information centers, and so forth. "It is best to start with something small," people in China believe. "The simpler the project, the greater its chances of success."

In the PRC, for example, it would be possible to organize the production of furniture using Soviet materials for delivery to the USSR and to seek other types of raw materials to produce products on the same terms.

The proposed creation of a joint tourist company, as well as a construction contract organization to tackle the construction of projects in third countries using manpower and Soviet equipment, plans, and specialists, is also probably not devoid of prospects. China already practices such forms with a number of foreign firms.

The leading Soviet sectoral ministries represented on the Chinese market still make poor use of the potential for industrial collaboration with the PRC. The Ministry of the Automotive Industry, for example, has been experiencing difficulties in selling motor vehicles in China in recent years. And yet it is possible to solve the problem at least partly by organizing industrial collaboration with Chinese enterprises and placing orders there for items that are in short supply in the USSR—tires, batteries, bearings, and so forth—on condition that deliveries of motor equipment expand.

The high quality of Chinese light industrial products is well known. The Light Industry Ministry could follow the example of many Western firms and propose that the Chinese side produce clothes and footwear from Soviet samples, models, and patterns. In the opinion of Chinese specialists, these products would find a market not only in the USSR but also in other countries.

Chinese shipbuilding has scored significant successes in recent years. This suggests the possibility of building ships in PRC yards with payment in supplies of ships for scrap or in chilled fish.

The time has come to more actively tackle the creation of Soviet-Chinese joint enterprises. The "Beijing" restaurant in Moscow is the first example of this. The creation of a pulp and paper combine on share [payevoy] principles and a vacuum bottle production factory is being discussed. But small joint enterprises which make a direct contribution to expanding commodity turnover seem more preferable.

What we have in mind is, above all, a network of technical service stations for Soviet motor, aviation, and other equipment with the shared [dolevoy] participation of interested Chinese organizations; technical centers for training specialists; publicity and publishing firms; and so forth. We have repeatedly heard the Chinese side express wishes of this kind.

The economic reform under way in both countries—above all, the granting of greater independence to economic organizations—is creating objective preconditions for expanding forms of cooperation. Republic foreign trade associations have been formed in the USSR, and they could be the pioneers in this sphere. Things will be facilitated if they secure the right to trade in the whole range of goods produced at enterprises of local subordination. Of course, this must be accompanied by a further broadening of independence both for foreign trade associations and for enterprises and, in particular, by their securing the opportunity to conclude direct economic contracts.

There is no doubt that the activation of trade and economic ties along these channels will give a strong boost to the development of the whole package of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Paper Reports PRC Youth Congress Proceedings

PM1205131388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 88 p 3

[Special correspondent L. Arikh and TASS correspondent M. Abulkhatin dispatch incorporating interview with Xu Jianzhong, deputy secretary of PRC Communist Youth League Central State Institutions Committee: "Setting the Goals. The 12th Chinese Communist Youth League Congress Continues in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing—Judging by the numerous suggestions from delegates, the documents submitted for discussion by the congress, including the draft amendments to the Chinese Communist Youth League [CYL] Statutes, will undergo substantial changes. The fact that the debate on the CYL Central Committee report is already in its second day testifies to the serious approach toward questions of the league's organization.

In addition to amendments to the statutes, the delegates are also to discuss the text of the CYL anthem and approve the model of a standard youth league membership card, which league members did not have in the past.

"Not to ignore young people's interests, but to consider them without fail—this is the important element in our work," according to Xu Jianzhong, deputy secretary of the CYL Central State Institutions Committee. "Only thus will we be able to rally young people and mobilize their latent potential for the sake of implementing the economic and political reforms."

Xu Jianzhong is from a worker's family. He studied Russian at the Beijing Foreign Languages School. His fascination with the modern history of the USSR led him to postgraduate studies at China's Academy of Social Sciences. He could probably have made quite a successful career in science. But fate decided that Xu Jianzhong was destined for full-time CYL work.

"The work is not easy, of course," Xu Jianzhong said. "As a matter of fact, we are dealing with politically literate people. Almost 60 percent of young men and women in central state institutions have higher education. There is no need to appeal to their consciousness. The main point is to give each league member a specific assignment in which he can fully display his creative and social potential and benefit our common cause."

[Correspondent] During the discussion of the draft amendments to the CYL Statutes you suggested the inclusion of a provision for the election of the league's leadership officials by the multiseat system....

[Xu Jianzhong] I was instructed by our organization's members to introduce this suggestion. We think that we can start talking about genuine democracy within the CYL only after its implementation.

[Correspondent] What else could be done, in your opinion, to enhance the efficiency of CYL organizations' work and consolidate the league's prestige?

[Xu Jianzhong] I think that more attention must be paid to questions of ideology. There is need for a radical review of the forms of collaboration between the CYL and administrative organs. And of course, the CYL's activity must be based on a firm legal foundation. [Xu Jianzhong ends]

We thanked Xu Jianzhong for the interview and closed our notebooks.

"You know something," our interlocutor suddenly smiled. "There is much in common between our countries. Even the problems of our youth leagues are very similar. This is why it is necessary to develop bilateral ties, both official and unofficial. We must exchange experiences, learn from each other. We can only gain from this, and our leagues will become stronger."

Just one more point, which is typical of the congress atmosphere: This is the first time in many years that Soviet journalists have been accredited at the press center of the forum of China's young people. We have been approached by dozens of congress delegates over the past few days. They all had the same request—to convey warm greetings to Soviet young people.

Northeast Asia

Ex-Premier Fukuda Arrives in Moscow

OW1305005488 Tokyo KYODO in English 0003 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 13 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda arrived here Thursday afternoon (shortly before Thursday midnight Japan time) to attend a meeting of former world leaders and possibly with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The former leaders' forum, the Council for Interaction, will hold a 3-day meeting here from next Tuesday to discuss the world political and economic developments and issues concerning population and the global environment. The discussions are expected to focus on a summit meeting here between Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan scheduled to start on May 29, according to Fukuda's aides.

The council was inaugurated in 1983 at Fukuda's initiative as a forum for 27 former heads of state and government to discuss on ways to resolve pressing world problems. Its members include former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

Fukuda will return to Tokyo on May 22.

Comparison of Japanese Socialists' Departure

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 12 May 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the departure from Moscow of the Japanese Socialist Party delegation on 11 May. The PRAVDA report, under the general headline "Official Reports" has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 12 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 23, revealing the following variation:

Column two, paragraph two, last line, PRAVDA reads ...Committee Yuriy Solovyev.

The Japanese Socialist Party delegation left for home 11 May. It was seen off at the airport by A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

The send-off party included T. Muto, Japanese ambassador to the USSR. (adding passages)

Japan Friendship Group Leader Interviewed

OW1205085088 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 3 May 88

[From the "Friendship and Good-Neighborliness" program]

[Excerpts] A delegation of the Japan-USSR Friendship Association, led by Sachiko Yokosuka, deputy secretary general of the association, arrived in the Soviet Union last week. A Moscow Radio reporter interviewed Sachiko Yokosuka on the objectives of the delegation's visit and its plans in the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Yokosuka] We have come to the Soviet Union to prepare for this year's rallies to pledge no war, an event held between Japan and the Soviet Union in August every year. We will visit Moscow, Ordzhonikidze, Tbilisi, and Leningrad, where the rallies are planned for this year. [Words indistinct] and this antiwar rally has been held in Leningrad every year. This year, victims of the atomic bombing, workers, and citizens of Nagasaki City expressed to our association their desire to send the bell of peace, a symbol of Nagasaki's suffering from the atomic bombing, to the Soviet Union. Our association has conveyed their desire to the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. The union, through cooperation with people from various local organizations, has decided that Leningrad Municipality will receive the bell. A rally to pledge no war is to be held in Leningrad on 9 August, and a decision has been made to hold a ceremony to present the bell at this rally. This is why I have come to the Soviet Union on behalf of the Japan-USSR Friendship Association. [passage omitted)

[Reporter] May I hear your views on the significance of Soviet proposals regarding nuclear disarmament and the settlement of the Afghan dispute?

[Yokosuka] I am quite pleased with the proposals. I would like to express my respect and thanks for the positive Soviet stance. We are glad that the Soviet Union has made every compromise and active proposals to protect peace and the livelihood of the world's people. We support the Soviet position. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Naval Squadron on Official Visit to DPRK

LD1205131588 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Wonsan (DPRK) May 12 TASS—A squadron of Soviet warships moored at Wonsan, a port on the eastern coast of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for an official friendly visit today. The squadron includes the anti-submarine cruiser "Novorossisk," the big anti-submarine ship "Admiral Zakharov" and the destroyer "Boyevoy" flying the flag of Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Khvatov. The ceremony of welcoming the Soviet seamen on the shore was attended by Commander of the Navy of the Korean People's Army Admiral Kim Il-chol, leaders of local party bodies and state officials and also tens of thousands [of] residents of the city which was liberated from Japanese invaders in August 1945 by Pacific Fleet seamen.

Near East & South Asia

Troops Prepare for Departure From Afghanistan

Communications Unit Trains Afghans

WA18010238 [Editorial report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 11 May 1988 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by Lieutenant Colonel N. Belan, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, and Major N. Burbyga, all KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondents, about the experiences of a Soviet military communications subunit serving in Afghanistan. The article concludes with the following paragraph: "Today the signalers live a life of intense work. The first stage of the impending withdrawal of our troops is not for them. For the time being they will remain here to provide communications for the unit and subunit and also to train their military comrades, the Afghan soldiers, to whom they will turn over the entire material-training base, their camp, and their experience."

Jalalabad Unit First To Leave

LD1305123388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1211 GMT 13 May 88

[By TASS correspondents M. Zaharchak, A. Semenov, and A. Snastin: "Preparations for the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From Afghanistan"—TASS headline]

[Excerpt] Jalalabad (Nangahar Province) 13 May (TASS)—The motorized rifle troops from this unit [not further specified] will be the first to return home. The withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan will start with their 600 kilometer march. Today TASS correspondents had an opportunity to get acquainted with the life and service of the internationalist troops. [passage omitted on past action of the motorized riflemen, living conditions, and feelings of soldiers as they prepare to leave]

Safe Return Home To be Ensured

LD1305031188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Now a report from our correspondent on the situation in Afghanistan before the withdrawal of Soviet troops:

[M. Leshchinskiy—identified by caption] In order to get a clear idea of the military and political situation in Afghanistan today and to glimpse the changes taking place there, I think you have to travel perhaps a couple of hundred kilometers along this road. Starting and finishing at the Soviet border towns of Kushka and Termez, it girds the whole of the central part of the country in a huge semicircle. The road links three major Afghan towns—Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat. It passes through agricultural areas and industrial zones, and it is itself of very great importance to the national economy. That is why the Afghan military garrisons that are to replace the Soviet units and subunits that are getting ready to depart are being enlarged and reinforced here now.

Small isolated formations and border detachments are also being redeployed here from outlying border areas. Large demilitarized zones are thus being created there, and this provides favorable opportunities for the unhindered return of refugees and rules out the possibility of chance armed clashes. As far as our troops serving at roadside outposts are concerned, they will have to ensure the safe return home of their comrades and they themselves will go last, and for many that will not be happening soon. [video shows traffic on road seen from moving vehicle, columns of armor, troops training guns, Leshchinskiy with a group of soldiers]

Comrade officers, in literally a matter of days this road will become the road home for many of our soldiers. Your formations are responsible for the security of the greater part of this road. What is the situation like today?

[Lieutenant Colonel N.V. Ivanov—identified by caption] Today the situation is that, on the one hand, there has been a sharp increase in the level of activity of the armed detachments of the opposition. They are getting ready to give us a fight. The supply columns are moving up. They are heading for the road our troops will use. The road will evidently be the target they will fight to the last for. We are ready for this work.

[Leshchinskiy] Now tell me on the purely human level what the mood is like among the men regarding the fact that our troops, your comrades-in-arms, will go home, but you have to be here until the end of the year.

[Ivanov] Well, on the human level one can understand of course that every soldier and officer wants to go home, to get out and go home, as quickly as possible. They are already saying that we will of course be looking with envy at the first convoys that will go home, but there is a saying among soldiers: You must do what you must do.

Afghanistan Condemns Pakistan on UN Agenda

LD1205170088 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] New York May 12 TASS—Afghanistan's permanent representative at the United Nations Shah Mohammad Dost drew the attention of the U.N. secretary general to the unworthy attempts—dictated by political considerations—to prevent the discussion by the spring session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the new item—"Economic and Social Aid to Afghanistan". The Afghan Government proposed that this question be discussed without delay in the light of the Geneva accords and of the need for large-scale efforts to restore the country, to undo the enormous damage done to it by war and to integrate the returning refugees into normal life.

Pakistan, however, with the support of some countries, is trying to prevent the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the ECOSOC session. It is quite clear, says the Afghan permanent representative at the United Nations in a letter—made public today—to Javier Perez de Cuellar, that at the basis of these attempts "there lie political motives" and the desire to lend a political colouring to an issue which is to all intents and purposes a humanitarian rather than a political one. The Government of Pakistan has yet to bring its policy in line with the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords and the commitments it has assumed under those accords.

Shah Mohammad Dost stressed that the international community demands that the obligations contracted under the Geneva accords be strictly [word indistinct] practice. He expressed the hope that the economic and social council would support the constructive discussion of the item and lend its assistance and support to the implementation of the U.N. readiness, voiced by Perez de Cuellar during the signing of the accords in Geneva, to "contribute to meeting the acute humanitarian and economic needs of Afghanistan."

U.S. Embassy in Yemen Arab Republic Attacked

LD1205144188 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Washington May 12 TASS—A jet shell was fired at the American Embassy in the capital of the Yemen Arab Republic on Wednesday. The embassy building was damaged, there was no loss of life, a representative of the U.S. Department of State reported today. No organization has so far claimed responsibility for the firing.

Kuwaiti Foreign Policy, Gulf War Stance Viewed

PM1305094188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by political observer A. Bovin: "Frontline Kuwait"]

[Text] The foreign policy of Kuwait, as of any state, is determined by a range of factors of various kinds. Among them, historical and cultural, socioeconomic, and geopolitical factors are the most steady and most abiding. Thus, a determining part for Kuwait's foreign policy positions is played by its membership in the Arab-Islamic world, by the presence of enormous oil stocks, and by the country's position at the meeting of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran, on the shores of the Persian Gulf (on Kuwaiti maps, as on the maps of the other Arab states, this gulf is called the "Arabian" Gulf, but I will use the name accepted in our country).

Kuwait takes an active part in the activity of the Arab League and the Islamic Conference Organization, the Persian Gulf Arab States' Cooperation Council, and OPEC. And the role which it plays, the resonance of its voice, so to speak, depend not so much on the size of its territory and population as on the sum of its foreign petrodollar deposits and its ability to use them.

The size of the financial aid which Kuwait renders to countries in need of it are considerably in excess of the corresponding indicators for many developed states. Approximately half this aid, Hisham al-Bughayan, one of the directors of the Arab Economic and Social Development Fund, explained to me, is sent to Arab states. In all the fund's aid is received by 64 states, including socialist states—China and Vietnam.

Kuwait is a member of the Nonaligned Movement. And it is in this capacity that it advocates the consolidation of world peace, disarmament, and the creation of a new international economic order and supports active North-South dialogue.

The Iran-Iraq war has introduced a new dimension to Kuwait's international position and international activity. Kuwait has become a frontline state. The breath of the war can be felt even by an observer. At the approaches (or rather at the entrances) to important government institutions you can see soldiers with submachineguns and steel hedgehogs. The American Embassy is enclosed by a brick wall and at the corners there are watch towers with machineguns (defense against potential terrorists). A jeep with a machinegun also stands next to the USSR Embassy.

Questions connected with the Iran-Iraq war were touched on by many of my interlocutors. General sympathies are on Iraq's side. At the same time opinions and evaluations as a rule retain objectivity. Iran provoked the war, I was told by Jasim al-Mutwwa', chief editor of the newspaper AL-WATAN. Iraq gave in to the provocation and began broad-scale military operations, although war is obviously not in its interests.

Why has the war between Iraq and Iran become so protracted? In this connection my interlocutors noted several features of Khomeyni's psychological and intellectual nature. They also said that the war is being used by Tehran as a kind of lightning conductor to deflect the Iranians' mounting dissatisfaction with the Shi'ite clergy's dictatorship and the increasingly difficult and confused situation in the country. There was also mention of the fact that certain Western circles are surreptitiously steering a course toward the "controlled" protraction of the war: They are making a good living by selling weapons to both warring sides and the weakening of the unity of the Arab states, the weakening of the anti-Israeli front, is to their advantage.

The proximity of the war is not only stimulating talk about the war. The war's influence is specific and tangible.

Iranian combatant craft have opened fire several times on the Kuwaiti island of Bubiyan, which is right on the border. Iran's latest claims have been motivated by the allegation that during the offensive on Al-Faw, Kuwait allowed Iraq to base its combat helicopters on Bubiyan.

The war has led to the activation of the Shi'ite community in Kuwait (about 25-30 percent of the population) and to attempts to destabilize the situation from without. Terrorists have made an attempt on the life of the amir, attacked the U.S. and French Embassies, detonated bombs, and organized fires at oilfields. But the government is confidently in control of the situation.

In April the whole world tensely followed the tragedy which unfolded around the hijacking of a Kuwaiti aircraft. As is known, terrorists demanded the release of 17 men in a Kuwaiti prison. These people—not one of them is a citizen of Kuwait—were sentenced in February 1984 for attacking the embassies: Three were sentenced to death (the sentence has still not been carried out) and the remainder to terms of imprisonment from 3 years to life. The Kuwaiti Government displayed firmness and refused to make a deal with the terrorists.

The nearby war is also affecting Kuwait's economy. 'Ali Jabir al-'Ali al-Sabah, director of the Kuwaiti Oil Corporation, is optimistic, it is true. The war, he announced, has had virtually no effect on oil exports; there has been a slight increase in freight charges, and that's all. My other interlocutors were less optimistic—the flow of private capital abroad has increased, re-export has decreased, and the general tension and uncertainty of the situation are affecting economic life.

Defense expenditure is also affecting it. In fiscal 1985-1986 this expenditure was 8.1 percent of the budget outgoings. Not that much. But for the sake of comparison, 11.5 percent was spent on education, 6.5 percent on health care, and 5.8 percent on housing.

The "tanker war" begun in the spring of 1984 is causing special alarm in Kuwait and in its Gulf neighbors. Since then over 400 ships have suffered varying degrees of damage. In 1986 some 80 ships were attacked and 52 people died. In 1987 there were 178 attacks and 108 deaths. Iraq, it was explained to me, attacks only Iranian ships, but Iran attacks any ships, irrespective of their flag.

Considering the complexity of the situation and the worldwide importance of the oil artery running through the Persian Gulf, in late 1986 Kuwait asked the UN Security Council members to take part in preserving safe navigation in the Gulf. The USSR was the first to respond. Soviet warships (there are three to five of them at various times) began to escort the three Soviet tankers chartered by Kuwait. After a while the United States re-registered 11 Kuwaiti tankers under the American flag and began to escort them. In early 1988 the United States had 29 warships and 14 auxiliary ships in and near the Gulf. The navies of France, Britain, and a number of other countries were also brought into action.

My interlocutors—both journalists and diplomats—commented with gratitude on the hard and dangerous work which the military seamen of the USSR, United States, and other states have had to take on. It is important, Sa'ud Muhammad al-'Usaymi, minister of state for foreign affairs, stressed, that the USSR and the United States should act together; we hope, he said, that the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations will help to stabilize the situation in the Gulf.

At the same time the "outsider" warships in the Persian Gulf are perceived as an abnormal, temporary, phenomenon. The tanker war and the foreign military presence, Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah believes, is one of the consequences of the continuing Iran-Iraq war. The efforts of the international community should be aimed at ending this conflict, which would put an end to all the adverse consequences threatening the Gulf's security.

Kuwait assesses highly the overall Soviet foreign policy course aimed at disarmament, the consolidation of world peace, and the development of equal international cooperation. The two states' positions are also close with regard to the situation in the Persian Gulf. Like the Soviet Union, Kuwait is opposed to foreign military bases and nuclear weapons in the Gulf.

My interlocutors did not conceal, either, their differences in approach to particular international problems. This also applies to several aspects connected with the Iran-Iraq war. We do not always understand Soviet policy, Prof 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn, a well-known Kuwaiti public and political figure and adviser to the amir, noted delicately. In his opinion the USSR could be more vigorous in advocating an embargo on weapons deliveries to Iran, which is refusing to fulfill UN Security Resolution 598 and is refusing to cease fire.

At a meeting with journalists organized by AL-WATAN I was told that the Soviet Union retains the "Al-Sadat complex," that is, an excessively cautious attitude toward Arab states generated by Al-Sadat's duplicitous policy. At the same time my counterparts also said that some Arab leaders do not behave very honestly, are trying to play on the contradictions between the USSR and the United States, and are "donning the Soviet hat to sell it in Washington." Dissatisfaction was also expressed with the fact that the Soviet Union recognizes Israel's right to existence and, by allowing Jews to leave for Israel, is thus strengthening its might.

I had to argue with them. Without going into specific details, I will reproduce here my general train of thought.

The Soviet Union is a power with global interests. That is why the situation in any region is viewed within the broad context of world politics. That is also why, in determining its policy with regard to Tehran or Baghdad, Tel Aviv or Cairo, for instance, Moscow must consider a whole complex of circumstances going beyond the confines of the Near and Middle East. Whereas for Kuwait the Iran-Iraq war is the No 1 problem, while for the Palestinians the implementation of their right to self-determination is the paramount problem, for the Soviet Union it is one of the many problems it deals with in the world arena.

Substantially different viewpoints lead to the point where the same events, actions, and processes can be assessed differently. The multifariousness of the political situations with which the Soviet Union deals, the need to compare and weigh up different, sometimes contradictory, interests, the natural reluctance, through the use of excessively "abrupt" movements in any part of the vast field of world politics, to generate a negative reaction in another spot—all this requires sensible restraint, balance between means and ends, and a consideration of the long term.

The Soviet Union is undoubtedly interested in ending the war between Iran and Iraq, as it is in a just solution of the Near East conflict. But our ideas about specific steps and specific political actions may not coincide with the ideas of other states. Here we are always prepared to listen to an opinion which differs from ours and are prepared to understand other people's interests and if necessary to define our positions more precisely. It is just such an approach, a flexible approach based on a comprehension of reality in all its complexity, which is dictated by the new political thinking.

...I was in Kuwait at the time that the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries was being celebrated. A press conference by the Soviet ambassador, articles in newspapers, a reception at the Hilton Hotel—in brief, everything was as it should be. But the essence showed through clearly behind these ritual actions. Both countries assess positively the 25 years of mutual regular contacts. Both countries, despite natural differences of views, are in favor of consolidating global and regional security and want to see the Near and Middle East free of conflicts. Both countries proceed from the premise that a reliable foundation has been created for further cooperation and mutual understanding.

I hope when I return to Kuwait that it will have ceased to be a frontline state but will remain a surprising one.

Commentary on Jerusalem Day, Iran-Iraq War

NC1305105688 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 May 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Muslims of the world mark 13 May as Jerusalem Day. This is a day of rage and protest for Muslims against the contempt shown by the Zionist occupiers to the Muslims' holy shrines. This is the day of unity for the followers of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, in the struggles against the machinations of the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance in the Near and Middle East.

Of course, Jerusalem Day is marked both in Iran and in Iraq, two Islamic countries that have been drawn into an armed, bloody, and destructive conflict. On this day, slogans for the unity of Muslims can be heard in both countries. However, as the Iranians and the Iraqis kill each other in the battlefields, and as the war threatens to spread to neighboring Muslim countries, these slogans become more and more unconvincing.

Recently Kuwait—a nonaligned country and head of the ICO—has been the target of missile and artillery attacks from Iran. Tehran justifies its acts by referring to Kuwait's involvement in the conflict on the side of Iraq. However, no convincing facts are put forth to prove this intervention. Kuwait's solidarity with Iraq is part of the solidarity among all Arabs. This solidarity can only be intensified at a time when UN Security Council Resolution 598 is being delayed, with the Arabs holding Iran responsible for this delay.

A direct outcome of the war has been the severance of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Some observers attribute this break to differences over religious isues between two large governments in the

Persian Gulf. However, this is only a [word indistinct]. Those who support a protraction of the Iran-Iraq conflict hide their spiteful programs under the shield of religious slogans. They regard war as a decisive means in the struggle for leadership in the Islamic world. Such a policy can yield the most dangerous results under the current international conditions.

The exacerbation of the differences between Iran and the Arabs is exploited by the imperialist circles in the United States, by the other Western powers, and by Zionists. The Iran-Iraq conflict and the deterioration of relations between Iran and several Arab countries only help to weaken the anti-imperialist front in the Near and Middle East, as well as the Arabs' struggle to remove the impact of Israeli aggression. One cannot ignore the fact that fierce battles on the Iran-Iraq front, in which the most inhuman means of war are being used, are taking place at a time when the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is continuing. The Palestinians' intention to cast off the yoke of Israeli occupation is supported by all Islamic peoples and can favorably help consolidate Muslim unity. The masses in Iran and Iraq greatly support the Palestinian struggles. On the eve of Jerusalem Day, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz met with 'Arafat. The two sides discussed matters related to intensifying support for the Palestinians. In Iran, Jerusalem Day is being held under slogans calling for the condemnation of Israeli terror and for solidarity with the Palestinians. All these facts are undoubtedly in the interests of the Palestinians' struggle and Muslim unity. However, the most spectacular part that both countries can play in the common interest of Muslims is to establish a cease-fire and start talks toward a political solution to the conflict.

Iran Uses Children on Suicide Missions

PM1205142188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 May 88 p 3

[Abbreviated reprint of STERN magazine article, prepared for publication by I. Belov under the "Press Testifies" rubric: "Children in the Minefield"]

[Text] "I sent 4,000 children to their deaths." It was under that headline that West Germany's STERN magazine recently published a report on a meeting between its correspondent Zh. Zendker [name as published] and a former "Islamic Revolution Guard" who left Iran illegally and is now living in the FRG. It was he who made the appalling admission contained in the weekly's headline. We now offer readers an abridged version of that report, which illustrates one of the most horrifying aspects of the senseless war between Iran and Iraq.

'Ali Mohammadi, 30, lives in the FRG today. In the past he served for 1 year as a "pasdaran," that is, in the ranks of the "Islamic Revolution Guards." They are Khomeyni's most fanatical fighters in the "holy war" waged against Iraq since 1980.

"I was billeted in the 'Abuzar' barracks in a poor district in south Tehran," 'Ali Mohammadi explained. "It is one of five large barracks in the capital where children receive military training. In just 3 months I sent 4,000 children to the front. The youngest was just 6, and most were between 12 and 16. I did not see one of them alive again."

During the conversation it was noticeable that 'Ali Mohammadi was finding it increasingly difficult to describe his experiences.

"Were the children forced to go to the war or did they go voluntarily?"

"Specially trained teachers recruited children in the schools. Sometimes I was present in the schools and could see everything for myself. I went with the teachers from one classroom to the next, asking: 'Who wants to join the "holy war"?' The children were often mistrustful, only a few of them expressed immediate agreement. The teachers did everything they could to persuade the waverers. On some days the 'Islamic Revolution Guards' managed to bring whole classes to the barracks. On these occasions, the families were only told that their sons had volunteered to go to war. The parents had no right to prevent their child from doing this. Khomeyni made that decision 2 years ago when the number of volunteers began falling sharply. Children who refused point-blank were subjected to insults and threats. They were told that their parents must be bad Muslims and that they should be imprisoned for this. Fear for their parents deprived many children of their last powers of resistance."

The parents are paid 6,000 tumans, the equivalent of an industrial worker's monthly wage, for their child's army service. If the child dies they are given a so-called "martyrs' certificate," which enables them to obtain products and manufactured goods on preferential terms.

Once the children were in the barracks, there was no way back for them. Their day would begin at sunrise. Everyone assembled on the square for morning prayers. Then they sang songs for an hour and chanted slogans. The mullah would read extracts from the Koran. Military training lasted 10 hours, day after day. The children were taught how to use hand grenades and automatic rifles. Some were killed in the first few days. Either they threw their hand grenades in the wrong direction or they were blown up themselves by them. In addition, each had to kill with his own hands a dog which had been shot and wounded especially for the purpose. Anyone who could not do it had to run carrying a rucksack filled wth stones until he was exhausted.

The training in the barracks lasted 2 weeks. 'Ali Mohammadi then accompanied the children in trains to the front. There they were given special suicide missions.

"I saw the soldiers hang a plastic key around each one's neck," 'Ali Mohammadi continued. "They were promised that after death it would help them to open the gates of heaven. Then the children were lined up in rows and sent into mined territory. They cleared a path for the regular soldiers. None of the children returned from the mission."

'Ali Mohammadi fell silent. He had more to tell, but he couldn't go on....

Tragedy breeds tragedy. Thousands of Iranian schoolchildren have left their motherland with the help of their parents who paid smugglers several thousand dollars each. There is a particularly large number of these refugees in Istanbul. The thing they fear most in the world is being forced to go back. If that happens there will be no escaping the minefields of the "holy war" for them.

Cultural Agreement With Syria Signed

LD1205214688 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Damascus May 12 TASS—The Soviet Union and Syria signed a programme of scientific and cultural cooperation for the years 1988-1990 in Damascus today.

The document provides for broader ties between the two countries in history and archaeology, an increase in student exchanges, joint economic research and development of electronic systems.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Syria's Education Minister Ghassan Halabi emphasized that the programme was evident of the relations of durable friendship and deep affection existing between the people of the two countries.

He said the programme's implementation would contribute to the further development of Syria's scientific potential, as well as to the strengthening of its international prestige.

East Europe

Gromyko Continues Visit to Romania

Tours Sofia With Ceaucescu

LD1105221488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The official friendly visit by Comrade Gromyko to the Socialist Republic of Romania is continuing. Our special correspondent Igor Kudrin reports:

[Kudrin] The talks between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Nicolae Ceausescu continued today. Comrade Ceausescu reported in detail on the socioeconomic development of the country. He stressed that in the new stage of socialist contruction the role of the political leadership and of the Communist Party in all spheres of economic life is growing. An exchange of views was held on developing cooperation. [passage omitted]

And today the inhabitants of Bucharest cordially welcomed Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko in the festively decorated streets and squares when he went sight-seeing around the city.

The first stop was a dam on the Dembovica River. A multiple complex of hydrotechnical installations is being built here. Nicolae Ceausescu, who is accompanying Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko on his trip around the capital, provides an explanation for the Soviet guest. [video presents a brief shot of Gromyko and Ceausescu surrounded by the entourage] [passage omitted]

Comrade Gromyko acquainted himself with the Bucharest metro which is one of the youngest metros in the world. Its network is being continuously extended. The overall length of underground track will soon reach 60 kilometers. [video shows Gromyko and Ceausescu followed by their entourage in metro]

In all places where the high Soviet guest went, the inhabitants of the Romanian capital met him with flowers, smiles, and friendly greetings.

In the second half of the day a meeting was held in a palace at Victory Square between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Constantin Dascalescu, the premier of the Romanian Government Tomorrow, Comrade Gromyko will meet the workers of Ploiesti, the town of Romanian oilmen.

Talks With Dascalescu

PM1305131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 May—A meeting took place here 11 May between A.A. Gromyko and Constantin Dascalescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and prime minister of the Romanian Government. Taking part on the Soviet side were G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania; taking part on the Romanian side were Constantin Radu, deputy prime minister, and Ion Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

During the conversation there was a keen exchange of opinions on questions of the development of Soviet-Romanian economic cooperation.

C. Dascalescu described in detail how the Romanian side is participating in implementing the accords and agreements reached and signed in recent years.

Particular attention was paid to expanding and improving economic, scientific, and technical ties and stepping up contacts at the level of the two countries' governments, ministries, and departments. There was a positive assessment of the work done to prepare a package of measures for the implementation of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and Romania Through the Year 2000. Its implementation will help to expand production sharing and cooperation and collaboration in the sphere of science and technology and in the construction of national economic facilities on Soviet and Romanian territory in the interests of resolving tasks of the two countries' socioeconomic development.

The sides examined concrete problems which can and must be resolved during economic cooperation. In particular, they discussed questions connected with accelerating work on the construction of the Krivoy Rog mining enrichment combine and the provision of surface facilities for the Sovetabad gasfield.

A.A. Gromyko noted that the Soviet Union regards Romania as a friendly socialist state. That is our stance when we discuss all questions with the Romanian side.

Our economy is now becoming stronger and you may regard our country as a good and reliable partner, he noted. It was also stated that the potential for the development of Romanian-USSR economic relations is still not being fully utilized. Both sides noted the need to increase the joint efforts to establish direct ties between enterprises and organizations in the Soviet Union and Romania and the creation of joint enterprises.

At the end of the conversation A.A. Gromyko noted that he was expressing the opinion of the Soviet leadership and M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in emphasizing the USSR'S desire to develop the broadest economic ties with socialist Romania. We do not want to weaken our economic relations with you but to strengthen and expand them.

This means that socialism is striding round the world and will continue to do so. The Soviet Union and socialist Romania stand shoulder to shoulder and arm in arm together among the socialist countries.

The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Visits Ploiesti Plant

*PM1305141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 88 Second Edition pp 1,6*

[TASS report: "Meetings on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] Ploiesti, 12 May—In Romania the word "Ploiesti" is rightly a synonym of the word "oil," just as the 1 May petroleum machine building plant is a synonym of and the pride of Ploiesti. The country's biggest industrial enterprise is an example of mutually advantageous Soviet-Romanian cooperation.

A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, visited the plant today.

There was a large placard above the main entrance: "Welcome, Dear Soviet Guests." Young workers presented bouquets of red carnations to the guest and the people accompanying him.

The history of the development of the plant is bound up with the history of the city. The history of Ploiesti effectively dates back to the middle of the last century when they started extracting oil here. Somewhat later a wooden hut appeared on the site of the present plant and in it 50 or so workers of the "First Romanian Oilwell Drilling Company" started overhauling drilling equipment. The city's industrial development had begun.

Today Ploiesti is a beautiful modern city, the administrative, industrial, and cultural center of Prahova Judet. There are three large oil refineries here, along with an oil and gas institute training specialists for the whole country, the republic oil museum, and the industrial combine, Romania's biggest, for the production of petroleum and mining equipment—the 1 May plant.

In the lobby of the plant management building and in the area outside the building A.A. Gromyko looked round the permanent exhibition of products. Association director D. Geoka [name as published] talked about the worker collective's achievements. The enterprise produces a variety of rigs and equipment for drilling at medium and great depths—from 1,200 to 10,000 meters; drilling units for oil-prospecting platforms in the Black Sea; automated tunneling units—hydraulic, electronic, and laser-based systems which cut tunnels in mountains for future hydroelectric power stations' drainage systems; and many other types of complex modern equipment. A drilling rig intended to reach a depth of 15 km has been constructed at the plant. It was developed at the plant's own laboratories.

The enterprise is a world leader in petroleum equipment exports. The Soviet Union is a permanent partner. Derricks and rigs made at the plant have been set up in Siberia and on the Caspian.

A.A. Gromyko visited the shops and familiarized himself with the production process.

Then there was a conversation with members of the plant working people's council. Its chairman, N. Bukura [name as published], talked about the principles of self-management introduced at the enterprise and about the council's work to improve production and the working people's social and everyday conditions.

M. Matescu, director of the 1 May plant, expounded the economic accountability and self-financing regulations on which the enterprise's work is based.

A.A. Gromyko addressed the working people's council and stressed the importance of strengthening the plant's production links with corresponding enterprises in the Soviet Union. It will be a contribution to the development of friendly business ties between our countries, he said.

A.A. Gromyko wrote the following in the visitors' book:

"My acquaintance with your enterprise—one of the flagships of Romanian heavy machine building—has made a deep impression on me. The high degree of professionalism and the labor activeness of the working people of the plant in the city of Ploiesti make it possible to tackle complex tasks producing products which are essential to the Romanian national economy and which are widely known in the Soviet Union as well.

"We welcome the plant collective's desire to develop links with allied enterprises in our country and are convinced that the establishment of new, progressive forms of cooperation opens up favorable opportunities for mutual enrichment with experience and for improving production efficiency.

"In the year of your plant's 70th anniversary I wish the entire collective new successes in labor for the benefit of socialist Romania and good health, happiness, and prosperity to all the working people at the enterprise."

On behalf of the Prahova Judet People's Council chairman a dinner was given in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

On the same day A.A. Gromyko returned to Bucharest.

He was accompanied on the trip by I. Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP.

Further on Talks, Accords

LD1305102688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2140 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, 12 May (TASS)—A third meeting between Andrey Gromyko and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania took place here today within the framework of the official friendly visit to Romania by the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During the conversation the sides discussed in detail the state and prospects of the friendly relations between the USSR and Romania. They agreed that forward development and active and constant contacts at all levels characterize the multifarious links between the fraternal countries.

They expressed the joint opinion that the enhanced effectiveness of Soviet-Romanian cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres is being built on the planned fulfillment of the accords reached at the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and N. Ceausescu, in particular the one which took place last May when the CPSU Central Committee general secretary visited the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The interlocutors are convinced it is necessary to master more boldly the new progressive forms of bilateral, mutually advantageous economic coofperation. These include coproduction and specialization, direct links between associations, establishment of joint ventures that could be set up in the Soviet Union in accordance with Soviet legislation on these matters and with bilateral international agreements, and in Romania in accordance with Romanian legislation and the relevant bilateral international agreements.

A joint profound conviction was expressed that all these forms will add a new dimension to the cooperation within the spirit of the requirements of the present stage of the two countries' development.

Andrey Gromyko and Nicolae Ceausescu gave a positive evaluation of the contemporary political relations between the USSR and Romania, of their joint, common approach to international problems, and of the active cooperation with other socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA.

The interlocutors advocated the improvement of bilateral links in the most diverse areas, including science, culture, education, health, sports, and tourism. They also expressed support for the activation of contacts and exchanges between the collectives of working people of the two countries.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu expressed the firm determination of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Romania to strengthen the bonds of friendship and to do everything to ensure that this cooperation becomes ever broader and more dynamic and is enriched by new content.

The talks, which took place in Bucharest in a friendly atmosphere, as is typical of the relations between the fraternal socialist countries, will be continued.

On the same day, within the framework of A.A. Gromyko's visit to Romania, talks took place and were signed for culture and sport.

A.I. Kamshalov, chairman of USSR Goskino, and K. Georgescu, director of the "Romaniafilm" Association, signed a plan of cooperation for 1988-90 between the two organizations, providing for holding cinema days and film festivals, retrospective showing of films devoted to the national festivals of the peoples of the two countries, the joint production of a new film entitled "New Adventures of Maria and Mirabela" by the well-known Romanian producer, Popescu Gopo, and other measures within the framework of cooperation of the cinematographists of the two countries.

An agreement on cooperation in physical culture and sport between the Soviet Union and Romania was signed. It covers the period up to the year 2000 and is aimed at developing and broadening mutually advantageous cooperation in physical culture and sport, nationwide physical culture, top-level sport, sports science and medicine, as well as interaction in the international arena and in the Olympic movement. It was signed by M.V. Gramov, chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sport and chairman of the Romanian National Olympic Committee.

A plan for cooperation between the USSR Writers Union and the Romanian Writers Union for 1988 was signed by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, and D.P. Popescu, chairman of the Romanian Writers Union. The document provides for the development of multilateral ties between the writers' organizations of the two countries and the widening of the contribution by writers to solving important tasks of the present day and in strengthening friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Romania.

RCP Delegation Visit Brings Cooperation Plan

PM1105135988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of RCP workers headed by F. Ghita, RCP Central Committee member and deputy chief of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda and Press Department, visited Moscow 4 through 6 May.

During talks held at propaganda, culture, and science and educational institutions' departments, as well as at a CPSU Central Committee department, a plan of CPSU-RCP ideological cooperation for 1988-1989 was agreed, and measures aimed at improving ties between the two parties and between the two countries' ideological organizations were elaborated.

Further on Defense Minister Yazov's GDR Visit

Departure for GDR Detailed

PM1205071988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Visit to GDR"]

[Excerpt] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow on 10 May to travel to Berlin on an official friendly visit.

He was seen off at the airport by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact Nations; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; generals, admirals, and officers from the Soviet Armed Forces; and other officials.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister; and Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister; left together with the USSR defense minister.

Those present included G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Major General K. Unterdoerfel, military, naval, and air force attache at the GDR Embassy in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Visits Berlin Monuments

LD1105231388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Yazov, who is in Berlin on an official friendly visit, has laid flowers at the monument to the vicitms of fascism and militarism on the Unter Den Linden Strasse and at the monument of the Soviet soldier-liberator in Treptow Park. Together with the Soviet military delegations were Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, and other officials.

Today Comrade Yazov and his entourage visited the Hoffmann tank division. A meeting of brothers-in-arms took place. The speakers noted the worldwide historical significance of the victory of the Soviet peoples in the Great Patriotic War. The GDR Armed Forces, stressed the speakers, will never allow war to start from German soil.

The participants in the meeting wished Soviet soldiers new successes in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, in socialist competition for an appropriate meeting of the 19th all-union party conference.

Meets With Honecker

LD1205184088 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Berlin May 12 TASS—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, president of the Council of State and chairman of the National Defence Council of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), received a Soviet military delegation led by General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of defence of the USSR, here today. The delegation is currently in the GDR on an official friendly visit.

During the meeting which was held in a warm and cordial atmosphere, the two sides exchanged views on topical issues concerning the present-day international situation and joint work by the states of the socialist community for improving it, and for preserving and strengthening peace.

Matters aimed at developing and deepening the two countries' cooperation in the military field, and at further strengthening internationalist unity and combat friendship of the Soviet Armed Forces and the National People's Army of the GDR were discussed.

The sides informed each other of the course of implementation of the plans and programmes mapped out by the congresses of the fraternal parties to translate into life the line towards accelerating socio-economic development and making the fullest use of the creative resources of socialism.

Sends Kessler Greeting

PM1105164788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from Defense Minister D. Yazov to GDR Defense Minister Kessler on liberation anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General H. Kessler, GDR minister of national defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own behalf I send you and all members of the National People's Army cordial congratulations on the 48th anniversary of the German people's liberation from Hitlerite fascism.

At this time of celebration we note with particular satisfaction that the development in every possible way of the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Armed Forces and the National People's Army is in our peoples' interests and represents an important contribution to strengthening the Warsaw Pact Organization—the fraternal socialist countries' organ of collective defense.

I wish GDR National People's Army personnel further success in their military work for the good of the GDR people and in the interests of peace and socialism.

With communist greetings

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Issues in History of Polish Ties Aired

PM1305090788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 May 88 p 14

["Excerpts" from transcript of roundtable discussion by Soviet and Polish historians prepared for publication by V. Abarinov: "'Blank Spots': From Emotions to Facts. Soviet and Polish Historians' 'Roundtable'"—first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] A year after the signing of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture, a symposium was held in Moscow for historians and moviemakers from the two countries on the theme of "Historical Movies: From Taboos to Glasnost." Today we publish excerpts from the 170-page transcript. Historians Andrzej Werner and Kazimierz Zurawski take part in the conversation on the Polish side and historians N. Eydelman, V. Parsadanova, V. Mikhutina, and A. Latyshev on the Soviet side.

A. Werner: I would like to concentrate on a complex of problems which have not been the subject of a single movie and which could not be discussed even timidly.

I mean the victims of Stalin's terror, and I will speak of the Polish victims. The inhabitants of Polish lands who were deported deep inside Russia, there to die in large numbers; those who died in the camps, who were tortured in prisons, and who were shot in the back of the head. I will speak of members of the Resistance movement and the Krajowa Army. There were hundreds of thousands of victims and no one has counted or will ever be able to count them all. I know that Russian people and representatives of other nationalities in the Soviet Union also suffered in the same way. The authoritarian system is first and foremost the enemy of man and only then the enemy of the Pole, the Russian, and so on. It is our common enemy.

We all know that the joint Soviet-Polish commission to examine the "blank spots" has now been meeting for many months. We have been informed of one thing: Most conflicts have arisen over the problem of Katyn.

This problem is particularly important for many reasons. It is important not only because several thousand Poles were killed but also because the report of this crime played an extremely important role in relations between the allies during World War II.

Roosevelt and Churchill and also Western public opinion chose to believe Stalin's assurances and to sever relations with the Polish Government (Footnote 1) (Germany published the first report of the Katyn shooting in mid-April 1943. It was followed by an appeal from the Polish Government in London to the International Red Cross asking for an investigation to be held. On 19 April PRAVDA described the statement by the Sikorski Government as "direct manifest assistance to Hitlerite provocateurs in fabricating vile falsehoods." On 21 April a TASS report appeared indicating that the PRAVDA article "completely reflects the stance of leading Soviet circles on this question." On 27 April 1943 the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with General Sikorski's government. The Soviet Special Investigative Commission on the Katyn Affair was set up in January 1944 and its findings were then published). As a result this indirectly affected the tragic fate of many Poles on the Soviet Union's territory. Subsequently, notably at Yalta, no one wanted to recall this. That is why the Katyn crime is the most important of all the existing "blank spots."

Why must the whole truth be told about Katyn and nothing be left out? I will give three reasons. First, because this was what happened. We have a moral duty to the truth and to the victims. The second reason: The making public of this truth is necessary for trust. Prof Yu. Afanasyev's statement made a great impression on us. He was the first to speak out on the subject of Katyn.

There is also a third reason. Nothing is simpler than to palm off with some truth-substitute a public which constantly feels a sense of grievance. This truth-subsitute may give rise to xenophobia or chauvinism.

V. Parsadanova: I am a member of the commission mentioned today. I am studying the fate of the Polish population in the USSR and what was called deportation. TRYBUNA LUDU has expounded the basic theses put forward by the Soviet side. However, you are right: We are dealing with people's specific fate and there are certainly people who suffered in one way or another.

I am not studying the questions of Katyn, but I can say that there are difficulties with Katyn sources, just as there are difficulties with regard to sources concerning the deportation. People say: Open all the sources. Not all the sources can be opened, according to archive regulations. They have been placed in the archives for a set period and this period has not expired for all the documents. Also, the war destroyed a great deal.

However, there are quite a lot of documents but few Soviet historians studying the history of Poland. Few of us and a lot in the archives. We are trying to do as much as possible. We want to work without bitterness.

Don't rush the historians, they are working honestly. Don't draw hasty conclusions. It is necessary to think about friendship and about our alliance and to be guided by that which unites us. If we have to discharge a moral duty, we will do so. At any rate, the work of the commission is proceeding normally. We have more points of contact than the "voices" and Western press reports often indicate.

V. Mikhutina: It seems to me that the aforementioned specific historical facts which aroused great passions do not present a problem for historians and cultural figures. Appropriate organs have been set up and they are to present materials which can form the basis for elucidation of the true historical picture.

I think that for us now the problem lies elsewhere: It is time for us to ponder how this could have happened. We must not only talk about Stalin and about the horrors of Stalinism but also establish the correlation between Stalinism and us, between Stalinism and society. How could this have happened? I think that the problem lies in the social climate which facilitated the emergence of an authoritarian dictatorship.

A great deal has been said here about September 1939. But this date must not be seen in isolation from its prehistory. It must be recognized that the USSR and Poland stood in mutual fear of one another. People in our country remembered that the Polish Army occupied Kiev in 1920. After the signing of the Polish-German Treaty of 1934 the opinion became rooted in Soviet diplomacy that the pact contained some secret articles against the Soviet Union (Footnote 2) (The German-Polish Non-aggression Agreement was signed 26 January 1934). In light of this the treaty between Germany and the USSR was a last resort.

Several years ago I was able for the first time to visit Krakow, which is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. I recalled that glorious Krakow was saved from destruction by the lives of thousands of my compatriots but there is not a single memorial plaque there. It's not much to ask. One such plaque could be put up on the most crowded tourist street to show how many human lives saved this lovely city.

N. Eydelman: It is no secret that from 1934 onward we held talks with Germany. This was quite well known. The people who conducted these talks are well known now. So the pact was not born in a week.

V. Mikhutina: I am sticking to the real facts. Litvinov, our people's commissar for foreign affairs, very clearly said that we could not have idyllic relations with Germany after 1933. I want to mention that while he remained people's commissar, (Footnote 3) (M.M. Litvinov was relieved of his post as USSR people's commissar for foreign affairs "at his own request." A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 3 May 1939 appointed V.M. Molotov additionally to this post. At a conference with the military 22 August 1939 Hitler stated: "Litvinov's retirement was a very important event. I regarded it as a signal, a sign that Moscow's policy with regard to the Western powers had changed" [Quoted from: A. Burt. "Russia in the 1941-1945 War," Second Edition, "Progress" Publishing House, Moscow 1965, p 25]) we held no talks with Germany. This is a perfectly real fact and there is no need to invent any secret talks.

N. Eydelman: Litvinov was not the head of the Soviet state. It's a matter of talks held without Litvinov's knowledge. The talks were held in the name of Stalin.

V. Parsadanova: The most likely alternative which the Soviet Union was seeking was the conclusion of an agreement and the establishment of communications with Poland. Poland did not want contact or Soviet aid. There are documents referring to this in the Soviet Union and they have been published in the West.

Certainly, we did not trust one another and there was no way out for the Soviet Union.

K. Zurawski: A Pole and a Russian find a purse. The Pole bends down, stands up, and says: Andrey Ivanovich, let's divide it in half. No, the Russian answers, let's share it fraternally.

Of course, this is not a funny joke. It may prompt a bitter smile and at the same time force one to think. Where did these "brothers" come from? They arose simply from propaganda phraseology such as: "we brother Slavs," "brotherhood in arms," (the last definition is used, of course, in the context of the war against Hitler's Germany, forgetting about the Ribbentrop-Molotov factor), "our great brother across the Bug," and, last, "fraternal assistance." It is this "fraternal assistance" that Poles feared most of all.

But why should brothers, even if there is a certain element of irony in the word, not have equal shares? In my opinion, there is a multitude of various reasons which mean that Polish-Soviet relations are not publicly perceived as a partnership. This applies to both the political and also the economic spheres. It doesn't matter for the train of our discussion whether this asymmetry actually exists and, if so, to what degree. I think that maintaining belief in this asymmetry is in the interests of the authorities, which, I think, using tittle-tattle and rumor, have frequently attributed their own economic impotence to the need to obey the great brother's orders and, when this suited them, have intimidated us with fraternal assistance and a fourth partition of Poland. But at the same time it was in the interests of certain small opposition groups to exploit anti-Soviet sentiments by treating them as an element uniting the people. These innuendos and various insinuations complicated our already difficult relations.

Here is another strange phenomenon. The history of tsarist Russia, its imperialist policy, systematic Russification, and the caste system, which found expression, in particular, in the bureaucratic ranks—this is all a sphere of the censorship's interest in our country.

One high-ranking party figure from Gierek's group formulated this problem precisely and clearly: The party will interpret criticism of tsarism as camouflaged criticism of the Soviet Union. It is only in this context that it becomes clear why the works of Adam Mickiewicz published in the early fifties have not been republished to this day. Why for a very long time it was not possible to stage "Forefathers' Eve." Why it was the theater which sparked off the conflagration of 1968. Why it has only recently become possible to screen "Above the Neman" by E. Orzeszkowa and "The Faithful River" by S. Zeromski. Why discussions on the subject of national uprisings are rigidly restricted. Why you can't show a Cossack on the screen holding a whip.

As a result creative workers are constantly looking for a surrogate theme. If we can't talk aloud about the Russification to which Poles were subjected during the partition, let's talk about Germanization. If we can't make movies about the fate of the Poles living in the Soviet Union, let's make movies about their life in the United States or in Canada.

No, it is no coincidence that Polish art is investigating the fate of people deported to Siberia, which became a second home for them. It is no coincidence that Polish art is evincing an interest in the fate of the Poles involved in the 1863 uprising and the October Revolution and an interest in the fate of Poles involved in the creation of an industrialized Russia and in Russian science and education. By filling in these "blank spots," we will certainly feel better and our cultures and relations will become fuller.

A. Latyshev: Twice in 6 months I have taken part in discussions in Warsaw on Soviet-Polish relations between the two world wars. The most acute issues were not noted down point by point but we had the following program: 1. The 1920 war; 2. The repression against the leaders of the Communist Party of Poland and its dissolution in 1938 by the Comintern; 3. The treaty of 23 August 1939; 4. The deportation to the East; 5. Katyn; 6. Could the Red Army have come to the aid of the Warsaw uprising?

I will say literally a few words on each question.

The year 1920. I am convinced that this was aggression on Pilsudski's part. But the attack on Warsaw was a most grave error and Lenin condemned this action (Footnote

4) (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 43, p 11). The attempt to capture Warsaw united all strata of the Polish people. But we did not agree with Polish historians, who claimed that we were aiming to fuel the fire of world revolution.

Of course, the repressions of 1937, when the cream of the world communist movement perished, are a much more acute problem. This was a monstrous crime committed by Stalin and cannot be justified either by the petty bourgeois milieu within the country or by bourgeois encirclement. But our Polish friends formulated the question differently: Poles were shot in Moscow. They evidently did not realize that this was a tragedy for the entire world communist movement.

The war. Among other reasons, the Anglo-Franco-Soviet treaty was not signed because public trials were being held: They sowed mistrust among a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia and Western ruling circles of the possibility of concluding a treaty with the Soviet Union. Everyone in our country turned out to be a Japanese or German spy and this damaged our talks with France and Britain. Attempts to conclude an agreement with Poland were unproductive. Everything hinged on a secret protocol. This protocol signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop has been printed throughout the world. It specified where each army was to halt. We don't deny this but we don't confirm it either. We need to open up the archives. This is necessary for us and for you. Because we can do nothing otherwise. How can we argue if there are no documents? Both our historians and Polish historians demanded his very vigorously.

Katyn. Did you note that two articles have appeared in our country on Katyn — in PRAVDA and in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA? These articles do not say who is guilty of the shooting, but they do mention the need for this problem to be studied most profoundly. I have seen German protocols which said that Soviet bullets were found in the exhumed bodies. But there are testimonies that they were German bullets. There are also certain attendant circumstances. For instance, there is precise proof that several of the 4,000 officers were shot by the Gestapo in Krakow and Warsaw during the occupation and then included on the Katyn rolls which were published in Poland. This has, incidentally, been revealed by Polish historians.

Comrades, I also believe that this "blank spot" cannot be tolerated any more. One of our esteemed historians said that a "blank spot" is even worse than an admission of guilt. But extreme emotions are misplaced here.

As for the deportations, I believe that this problem must be approached in the same way as we approach the exile of Crimean Tatars, the exile of Kalmyks, and so on. This was an action which had nothing to do with Lenin's nationalities policy and which must be unequivocally condemned as a gross manifestation of the Stalin cult.

The sixth and final question associated with Red Army assistance to the Warsaw uprising. Our Polish colleagues concluded on the basis of their research that the Red Army could not have crossed the Vistula and helped the Polish patriots, that they didn't have the fuel or the ammunition, and that this was just a provocation on the part of Mikolajczyk, who did not inform our leadership. But this does not reduce one bit the heroism of the Polish uprising, which both Poles and Soviet people must admire.

We must have no "blank spots," but they must be studied on the basis of the documents and archives and not on the basis of emotions.

MSZMP Plenum Discussions Noted

PM1305081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the rubric "In Fraternal Parties": "Toward the Conference"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 May—An information report was published here today on an MSZMP Central Committee plenum held under the chairmanship of J. Kadar, MSZMP general secretary.

The MSZMP Central Committee discussed and approved the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo report delivered by J. Berecz and J. Lukacs on the preparations for the Hungarian national party conference.

The MSZMP Central Committee stated that the preparations for the conference are being conducted systematically, in accordance with the decision of the MSZMP Central Committee March (1988) Plenum. The draft resolution of the party conference has been discussed by party organizations, party committees, and leading organs of various organizations and establishments. The suggestions and remarks made during the frank discussion imbued with a sense of high responsibility and conveyed to the MSZMP Central Committee contribute to the successful preparations for the party forum.

Taking the results of the discussion into account, the MSZMP Central Committee approved the draft resolution of the party conference. The MSZMP Central Committee and the MSZMP Central Control Commission consider it necessary to renew the party's leading organs. To this end it is proposed that the Hungarian national party conference elect a new MSZMP Central Committee and MSZMP Central Control Commission.

The MSZMP Central Committee discussed further tasks in preparing for the party conference and adopted proposals relating to the agenda of the party conference, which opens 20 May: 1. Resolution on the party's tasks, on developing the system of political institutions. Keynote speaker J. Kadar. 2. Proposals for cadre changes.

The MSZMP Central Committee discussed and approved the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo proposal on directives concerning the Law on Economic Associations (keynote speaker M. Nemeth).

State and cooperative ownership is the basis of the socialist economy. The most important goal is its efficient functioning and augmentation. In addition to public ownership of the basic means of production, at the lengthy historical stage of building a socialist society an important place in developing the economy is allocated to various forms of mixed ownership and private enterprise within a set framework, which have the right to exist. Hungarian society is interested in ensuring that various combinations of forms of enterprise take shape in economic management.

By drawing up a new law on economic associations it is necessary to help form conditions for the freer movement of capital, set up societies with mixed ownership, and attract foreign capital. The new law must serve to broaden opportunities for using the population's savings to develop the economy and for social purposes.

The draft Law on Economic Associations will be submitted by the government for consideration at the fall session of the Hungarian National Assembly.

CSSR Restructuring Successes, Problems Viewed

PM1205095588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 May 88 p 3

[Article by RUDE PRAVO Moscow correspondent Lubor Kazda: "It Was the Month of May. Today Is the CSSR's National Day—The Day of Czechoslovakia's Liberation from Fascist Occupation"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] What is life like in Prague and in our country now, 43 years later? What have we gained along the path whose beginning was marked by Victory Day, and whose logical continuation 3 years later was provided by the victorious revolutionary February which paved the direct path to the building of socialism?

No, I have no intention of taking you on a guided tour of Czechoslovakia in the eighties, of listing the successes and passing over in silence the errors, shortcomings, and problems, as was done for years on end according to the fairly widely established practice of "familiarization tours." They all exist, of course. On reading the documents of the CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) and April (1988) Plenums and the plenum speeches by Comrade Milos Jakes, it immediately becomes clear that our party is now focusing its attention mainly on unresolved questions so as to impart new dynamism to the development of socialism in our country. Figuratively speaking, we have translated the Russian word "perestroyka" into the Czech and Slovak languages and it has become part of our vocabulary. The CPCZ has also embarked on restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres of society's life. In this process, as our leaders have repeatedly emphasized, we are carefully following the Soviet experience: After all, we are marching together along the same path. This is the collateral security for our prospects, our guarantees, our aspirations, and our unbreakable friendship.

"Why do you need restructuring in Czechoslovakia?", my Soviet friends ask me at times, inviting me to exchange opinions on the urgent problems of socialism and our common difficulties which at times take a specific form on a specific scale in specific conditions.

Yes, those who have visited Czechoslovakia note that we have solved the food problem in principle and the country is experiencing no shortages. In terms of amenities, the countryside is competing with the cities. Yes, living standards are fairly high, people live quite well and earn a decent amount. The cooperative movement is widespread and by no means in agriculture alone (and, taking the new Law on the Cooperative Movement into account, it becomes clear that the limit has certainly not been reached). This movement helps the state to solve a mass of problems—from the production of furniture and small series of fashionable clothing to the provision of services for the population and the expansion of the public catering network. Of course, I agree with these and other arguments in the "restructuring dispute." On the other hand, however, this still does not prove that we have already learned to skillfully utilize all the opportunities provided by socialism, or that there is no room for further improvement. There is! Turning back to that part of the party documents which analyzes the state of affairs in the country, it becomes clear that the economy's efficiency, judging by current trends, leaves much to be desired. Many of our plants are aging. They "consume" unjustifiably large quantities of raw materials and energy resources, while the quality of goods is often far below world standards. The prestige of Czechoslovak brand names in important production spheres has declined. People are more interested in "imports." The achievements of science and technology flow into our practice in a very timid trickle. These are the counterarguments which might be raised by a "skeptic" who is also a realist. We must indeed energetically gather speed so as not to slacken the present pace. This is an argument which could be advanced in favor of the important restructuring changes on which we are embarking under the party's leadership.

Spring is here! The surge of new energy must be linked to new good deeds.

Silayev Meets With SFRY's Zemljaric

LD0705211788 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1900 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Today in Moscow there was a working meeting of the co-chairman of the intergovernmental Soviet-Yugoslav Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation: Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the

USSR Council of Ministers, and Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council. During the meeting specific issues of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation were considered, in which agreements reached during the official friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary are being developed.

West Europe

Kim Philby's Death in Moscow Reported

LD1205163288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 May (TASS)—The remarkable Soviet intelligence officer Kim Philby died on 11 May 1988 in his 77th year.

The many-years-long struggle of Kim Philby, a man of lofty internationalist duty, began as far back as the 1930's against fascism. The Soviet intelligence veteran carried out his multifaceted and geographically wide-ranging feats on the territory of many European states and countries in the Near and Middle East.

For a prolonged period, Kim Philby carried out exceptionally difficult work, or, more correctly, a struggle directly in the special services of capitalist countries, the activity of which was directed against the Soviet Union, against the world progressive movement. These were years of truly titanic nervous tension, requiring the application of all spiritual and physical strength and a constant search for unusual solutions. Philby often managed to accomplish what seemed to be impossible.

In 1963, having successfully carried out a routine mission, Kim Philby came to Moscow where he continued the work which had become the meaning and substance of his entire life.

As an internationalist, Kim Philby loved his English people, valued its spiritual wealth, and believed in its happy future.

Kim Philby was awarded the Orders of Lenin, the Red Banner, and the Patriotic War, of the First Class.

Environmental Protection Talks Held With Finns

LD1305031788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1431 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Helsinki, 12 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov reports:

Worsening global environmental problems and the deeper awareness of the dangers threatening the planet's nature are heightening the importance of broad international cooperation in the sphere of ecology. This thought was stressed during a session of the combined Soviet-Finnish commission for cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection which has ended here.

The Soviet delegation at the session was led by F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, and the Finnish side by Environment Minister K. Barlund.

The set of initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk last October, which envisage, apart from measures of a military and political nature, the elaboration of a unified international plan for the preservation and protection of the environment of northern regions, had a positive impact on the discussions.

It was noted with satisfaction that in the past 2 years Soviet-Finnish cooperation in this important field has been developing successfully and in the interests of both sides. Thirty joint projects have been carried out. The plan of events for 1988-89 that has been adopted envisages a considerable expansion of the scale of interaction of the nature conservation bodies of the two countries. There are already 69 projects earmarked for implementation.

In particular, the preparation for the creation on the territories of the USSR and Finland of a joint "friendship" reserve—intended for research into the problems of the care and exploitation of coniferous forests—will be continued. Special attention is being devoted to cooperation in the field of protecting the air. In recent years, justifiable alarm has been caused in Finland by the emissions of pollutants—above all, of sulphur—by enterprises on the Kola Peninsula. Therefore, information on the steps being taken and drawn up in the USSR to normalize the ecological situation in this region was received with pleasure. The emission into the atmosphere of harmful substances on the Kola Peninsula will be cut by at least 50 percent by 1993.

Swedish Riksdag Debates Ties With EEC

PM1305121988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov: "Contradicting Neutrality"]

[Text] Stockholm, 10 May—The Swedish Riksdag (parliament) has been discussing the question of a closer relationship with the Common Market. By a majority the deputies voted for closer links between Sweden and the EEC and gave their "blessing" to government actions in that direction. However, the deputies noted, there can be no question of Swedish membership of the EEC.

As is known, the Swedish Government decreed in 1971 that Swedish entry into the Common Market was incompatible with the country's policy of neutrality. Today, Swedish Foreign Trade Minister A. Gradin said, we see no reason to change this viewpoint. But far from everyone was happy with the explanations of the official position on this question. Swedish Left Party-Communists Deputy O. Soderqvist insisted that a closer relationship between Sweden and the EEC would be a concession to right-wing forces and an attempt to deceive the people, who are not being given a clear idea of how a closer relationship with the EEC would affect the Swedish concept of neutrality. His pronouncement caused great displeasure among members of the Riksdag Foreign Affairs Committee. The committee chairman, Social Democrat S. Alemyr, stated that one should not even hint at the possibility of a change in the policy of Swedish neutrality.

In his speech, Liberal Party Deputy I. Eliasson pointed out that closer cooperation between Sweden and Western Europe is "not directed against Eastern Europe" or any other part of the world.

Deputies from the ruling Social Democratic Party advocated the gradual development of cooperation between Sweden and the EEC, including cooperation through EFTA. The processes of European integration, A. Gradin said in her speech, set the task of creating a common market encompassing all 18 states currently in the EEC and EFTA.

The development of business cooperation in Europe would, of course, be improved. But consider this: Why do they so assiduously divide the continent into West and East? Why do they "forget," in particular, about the existing military aspects of cooperation between EEC countries and Sweden? Why are they so quick to stress that its neutrality policy is unchanged, while then (as came, for example, from the lips of Minister A. Gradin) declaring that with all due respect for this policy one cannot, apparently, rule out "any spheres of cooperation" in advance?

In short, the discussion of the question of a closer relationship between Sweden and the Common Market brings to mind a children's game that is probably known throughout the world, in which the participants keep on shouting to one another: "Warm, warm, warmer."

But when the children play, they wear a blindfold....

News Conference Held on USSR-FRG Commission

LD1205184188 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—The sixteenth session of the USSR-FRG Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation became an important milestone in the development of relations between the two countries and in preparing the meetings between their top leaders. This was said by the heads of delegations—Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Aleksey Antonov and the FRG Minister of Economy Martin Bengemann—at a press-conference held here today on the results of the session.

Measures being taken to improve the economic mechanism and the management of foreign economic relations of the USSR open up new possibilities for the further development of trade and economic relations, it was pointed out at the press-conference. At the same time there is significant scope for a broader trade, in the first place through improving its structure which so far does not correspond to the economic potentials of the two countries.

The development of bilateral economic relations is also held back by the existence of the prohibition lists of the Cocom concerning the transfer of advanced technology to the socialist countries.

The session discussed concrete possibilities for the participation by West German firms in modernizing and reconstructing the light and food industries in the USSR, in implementing large-scale projects involving the development of oil and gas deposits in Western Siberia and in a comprehensive development of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula. An important role in this respect can be filled by new forms of business cooperation, including industrial co-production and establishment of joint ventures. At present over twenty bilateral co-production projects are in operation. Eight joint ventures with the FRG firms have been set up in the USSR, and several dozens of such projects are in the development stage.

The seventeenth session of the commission will be held in early 1989 in the FRG.

More on Visit of FRG's Vogel to Soviet Union

Meets With Dobrynin

LD1205164588 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Today the CPSU CC Secretary Anatoliy Dobrynin held a conversation with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG).

In the spirit of mutual understanding which characterizes the relations between the CPSU and the SDPG, they examined some issues stemming from the talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and Hans-Jochen Vogel, and the prospects for the further development of cooperation between the two countries.

On the same day Hans-Jochen Vogel visited the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In his report to the institute staff he noted that the SDPG and many people in the FRG follow with great interest and sympathy the radical changes now at work in the Soviet society and wish them success.

As regards the foreign-policy aspect of the restructuring policy, the guests said, it contributes to a more profound realization of the interrelationship between East and West, between the industrialized and developed countries, and of the interdependence of the destinies of the whole mankind.

Holds News Conference

LD1305142688 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The perestroyka drive currently under way in the USSR is in the interests of Europe, in the interests of peaceful development worldwide, said Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). He was addressing a press conference given at the Press Centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry for Soviet and foreign newsmen devoted to the results of his visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

As a result of the current visit, Hans-Jochen Vogel said, we could understand better than before the comprehensive character of perestroyka. As the SPD chairman I, in common with representatives of other progressive forces of my country, wish every success to perestroyka.

Speaking on disarmament problems, Hans-Jochen Vogel stressed the importance of resolving the question of conventional weapons. He admitted that while the Warsaw Treaty Organization has a superiority as regards the number of tanks and artillery, NATO has an advantage in aircraft and helicopters. In that connection the SPD leader declared for eliminating asymmetry, for a ban on chemical weapons, for a cut in the burden of military spendings running into huge sums. He expressed "realistic optimism" about the ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. We hope, the West German political figure said, that the fundamental elements of the future agreements will be reached at the upcoming meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow albeit the agreement on strategic offensive weapons will be, possibly, not signed.

Touching upon the bilateral Soviet-West German relations, the SPD chairman declared for lending greater dynamism to them.

Hans-Jochen Vogel declared for livelier contacts between the EEC and CMEA for developing a political dialogue.

My colleagues and myself have been greatly impressed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the SPD chairman told newsmen. We met with a man who calmly and confidently does his work, can listen to his partners. It will be easier to settle many international issues if the world's leading politicians learn to listen to one another.

Answering a question of newsmen, Hans-Jochen Vogel said: We welcome the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. But the Afghan problem has not yet been fully resolved. International public should assist towards that process. We favour that the FRG should give economic aid to the Afghan people to support that process, he stressed. A settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can serve as an example for the resolution of other regional conflicts, he emphasised.

We are very much satisfied with this visit, Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said, closing the press conference. We feel that this is an important step on the way of deepening our political dialogue and wish for its continuation.

Karpov Views 'Mutual Consultations' With Spain

PM1205153588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Vernikov interview with V.P. Karpov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Arms Limitation and Disarmament Problems Administration, in Madrid under the heading "Mutual Consultations: A Dialogue of Equals"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A new concept—mutual consultations—became part of the Soviet diplomatic vocabulary comparatively recently. V.P. Karpov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Arms Limitation and Disarmament Problems Administration, recently held such consultations in Madrid. He met and talked with Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez and other senior members of this ministry. What did they talk about this time? And what does this new form of diplomatic activity signify?

[Vernikov] This is not the first time you have been here on this kind of mission. Let us first of all ascertain its purpose and what it gives to the two sides involved.

[Karpov] Mutual consultations are, in my view, a characteristic feature of our new diplomacy, which is geared to greater openness and broader contacts. I would even say that this is one form of active diplomacy. While conducting our foreign policy, we must not limit ourselves to contacts solely with people who share our attitudes and our beliefs—we must also seek points of contact with countries that are in the opposite bloc, for example. Unfortunately, there are not a great many forms of dialogue in which Spain could play a role. The aim of my present visit is to inform our Spanish partners on the results of the recent visit to Moscow by the U.S. secretary of state and on progress made in the preparations for the forthcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan.

[Vernikov] But surely this must have been more a monologue on your part than a dialogue? Or perhaps the range of problems discussed was broader?

[Karpov] No, you are wrong to think that. Mutual consultations are bilateral and are conducted on a regular basis. Issues of interest to both partners are discussed, there is a constant exchange of information, and we look for possible new ideas and approaches. The consultations are confidential. This is the only way they can be of mutual benefit.

But I can say without disclosing the "secrets of the Madrid court [dvor]"—although in this case, you will agree, it sounds good—that we did indeed discuss other problems. We value the stand taken by Spain on the questions of banning nuclear tests and drawing up a convention to eliminate chemical weapons and all stockpiles, as well as the ardent support shown by the country's government for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and for the treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons currently being drawn up at Soviet-U.S. talks, and so forth. But new times have come, and our two countries must put their heads together to decide what specific arms and troops will be reduced following the talks which may result from the Vienna meeting. We are offering a specific program in this respect.

[Vernikov] Could you give us any example of the interesting ideas found as a result of your mutual consultations?

[Karpov] I cannot give you any such example at present, but possibly in the future. But if I were to assess the real results of the present consultations then, to all appearances, Spain is interested in seeing the start of talks on reducing arms and armed forces in Europe. There are issues on which our thoughts and attitudes are at least moving in the same direction, even if they do not coincide 100 percent. We see the point of these consultations as being to reveal elements where our stands coincide or come close to each other in order to seek a consensus on a general European scale in matters primarily concerning a reduction of the danger of war on our continent.

[Vernikov] In this connection, what is your perception of Spain's position on specific disarmament problems and the problem of NATO upgrading its arms in light of the Spanish Government's recent announcement that the country is to become a member of the WEU? Was this discussed?

[Karpov] From the exchange of opinions with my Spanish partners, I do not yet have a clear idea of the stand Spain could take on the issues you mention. It evidently seems to be taking its cue from its future partners in this union, and this is leaving its mark on the policies to which it is now committed, although we did not discuss the actual fact of its joining the WEU. But we believe that membership of any union should not fetter the initiative of European countries—large, small, or medium—in the search for solutions to questions of European security acceptable to all European peoples. But in principle, we think that the time for forming alliances is past and that thought should not be given to joining new alliances (I ask you not to interpret these words as a criticism of Spanish policy) but to looking for other solutions—pan-European rather than based on blocs. In our opinion, this is a solution to many impasse situations. The time has at last come to give thought to what kind of thinking, what precisely Europe will take with it into the 21st century and what it will build there: mutually opposed blocs or our common home?

[Vernikov] It goes without saying that these questions lead on to another: the situation in the Mediterranean region and Spain's attitude to the Soviet proposals made in Belgrade. Did you touch on this subject?

[Karpov] Yes, we touched on all these issues as part of a complex, and I will not be letting any secret out if I say that my Spanish colleagues' reaction to the proposals made by M.S. Gorbachev in Belgrade was not positive. It seems to us, however, that not only Spain but also the Soviet Union and other states with fleets in the Mediterranean should think about what real steps could be taken to at least reduce, if not completely remove, the tension.

[Vernikov] Let us go back to the mechanics, if you like, of mutual consultations and their nature. It is not hard to conclude from your words that they nevertheless bear a greater resemblance to talks on a broad range of problems than to a simple exposition of the partners' views.

[Karpov] It is true that the range of issues discussed at these consultations is usually broad. Many of them we simply raise with our partners: Let them think about them; that is their right. This has been the case, for example, with the problem of arms at sea. But this is not the only point of the consultations—they are also intended to seek new thoughts and new ideas. In this respect, you cannot get by without mutual discussion. Incidentally, we believe that the aforementioned problem of limiting naval activity could be discussed at the Third Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament Issues, which is to be held in June, but I am going to keep quiet about Madrid's feelings on this.

Soviet diplomacy does not simply aspire to the fulfillment of proclaimed aims but also looks for positive solutions to problems of vital importance to mankind and seeks accords which would not only be in our national interests but in the interests of all Europeans.

[Vernikov] Perhaps you could demonstrate this in the following: As is well known, some NATO countries—Spain included, which has proclaimed its non-nuclear status—are satisfied with not questioning the United

States about the presence of nuclear arms on board its ships visiting national ports and claim in cases like these that there are no nuclear arms in their territory.

[Karpov] Yes, a quite convenient attitude to take, but where is the guarantee that an American ship lying somewhere in Barcelona, the Balearic Islands, or at the U.S. base in Rota really does not carry nuclear weapons? There is simply no guarantee. Spain does not ask; the Americans do not say. So we have proposed to the United States that, for the purpose of guaranteeing verification of the accord on sea-launched cruise missiles, we carry out a joint experiment—in the Mediterranean, say—with the participation of ships from the U.S. Sixth Fleet and our own ships, helicopters, and equipment to demonstrate the real possibilities to detect nuclear arms on board ship and identify them. But the Americans have said no: This runs counter to their practice of not saying, denying, or confirming whether nuclear weapons are on board.

As you can see, the United States puts its own selfish interests above the interests of European security. But this is far from being to everyone's liking. As you well know, this was recently the cause of a big dispute in the Danish parliament, which led to early parliamentary elections.

[Vernikov] And the last question: What, in your opinion, is the current level of trust in Soviet-Spanish relations? After all, we certainly do not hold mutual consultations with every country.

[Karpov] I think that the trends in our discussions will inevitably lead to a greater understanding of each other's positions. It is very important to be aware of these positions and understand their possible limits in issues on which we could enter into discussion to find mutually acceptable solutions. The expanding practice of consultations that we have established seems useful to me and, of course, the official visit to Spain by Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze is, in my opinion, a serious landmark in Soviet-Spanish relations. Now the Spanish would very much like to see M.S. Gorbachev here next year.

In diplomacy, as in life, a human feature is very necessary. Our relations with Spain at present are pleasantly human; we understand one another, and this is so important. After all, we live on the same continent, and we should take a broader, more hopeful view of the problems of our common European home.

Austrian Chancellor Elected Socialist Party Head

PM1305121188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA and TASS correspondents B. Dubrovin and A. Tyupayev: "Austrian Socialist Party Congress"]

[Text] Vienna, 11 May—An extraordinary congress of the Austrian Socialist Party [SPOe], which has headed the federal government for many years now, was held here today in the Konzerthaus, one of the largest halls in the Austrian capital.

Franz Vranitzky was elected party chairman. He replaced in this post F. Sinowatz, who has headed SPOe for the past 5 years. Thus, after a gap of almost 2 years, the duties of leader of the largest political party and of federal chancellor will once again be carried out by one man.

Addressing the congress delegates, F. Vranitzky pointed out that, as the ruling party, Austrian socialists intend to ensure the continuity of the foreign policy based on the principles of neutrality and to be active in the international sphere in the interests of ensuring lasting peace, above all, on the European Continent, and making progress in the sphere of arms reduction and disarmament. I must declare most clearly that all our efforts are geared to the State Treaty and permanent neutrality, Vranitzky said.

Hailing the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, F. Vranitzky expressed the opinion that this opens up before mankind a "new era." The elimination of intermediate-range weapons in Europe and the prospect of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms show that "concrete steps in the disarmament sphere are possible."

Touching on problems of domestic policy, F. Vranitzky declared that at the present time "there is no alternative to cooperation in the government" between SPOe and the People's Party.

Latin America & Caribbean

Journalist 'Kidnapped' Near San Salvador Hotel

PA1205041788 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
0335 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] El Salvador, 11 May (ACAN-EFE)—A local television network reported that strangers kidnapped Soviet PRAVDA correspondent Yuriy Stronev today. The source stated that Stronev had been stopped by four persons near a San Salvador hotel at 2300 GMT and taken to an unknown place.

Stronev arrived in El Salvador on 8 May and is the first Soviet correspondent in this country.

No organization has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of the Soviet correspondent. The military press office has neither confirmed nor denied the event.

Unofficial sources noted that the newsman had been at the Army's information office this afternoon to request press credentials. He was not able to obtain the credentials because there apparently was a film shortage at the information office.

Press credentials are issued to correspondents to enable them to practice journalism in the country.

Stronev was last seen at a demonstration held on Tuesday by the Federation of Committees of Mothers and Relatives of Salvadorans Murdered and Disappeared for Political Reasons.

U.S.-Honduran Military Exercise Begins 11 May

LD1205090688 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Havana May 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent I. Pshenichnikov:

The joint U.S.-Honduran war games started on Honduran territory on Wednesday, with nearly 1,000 U.S. Marines arriving from the Camp Pendleton military base in the USA. The exercise is being held in close proximity with the Salvadoran border.

It was officially announced in Tegucigalpa that the aim of the exercise was to practise patrolling in the tropical Selva. At the same time it should be noted that muscle flexing near the Salvadoran border coincided with the holding in Salvador of a large-scale punitive operation against units of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Along with the Duarte army it involved units of the Honduran Army.

Operations against Salvadoran patriots are carried out in Morasan Department which borders on Honduras and is regarded as a stronghold of rebel forces in Salvador.

Continuing combat successes of Salvadoran rebels were one of the main causes of a deep crisis of the pro-American Duarte regime which lost the backing even of right-wing parties, which are now in opposition. This led many foreign correspondents in San Salvador to believe that the Duarte regime, which is an obedient tool of Washington's policy in Salvador, was banking on the physical extermination of patriots as soon as possible, because the latter, enjoying power and popular support, pose a real alternative for the country's authorities.

However, for eight years now the Salvadoran regime has been demonstrating its inability to stem the mounting national liberation movement. This explains why the units of Honduran Army appeared on Salvadoran territory and U.S. soldiers on its border. Political news analysts stress that the U.S.-Honduran military manoeuvres pursue the aim of at least intimidating the patriots. At the worst they may become a forerunner of the direct participation of American "Green Berets" in hostilities against Salvadoran patriots.

Chigir Criticizes Manuevers

LD1205131788 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 12 May 88

["Who Aggravates the Central American Conflict"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—By TASS political analyst Nikolay Chigir:

The joint U.S.-Honduran war games, which have just started in western Honduras, provide a fresh proof that Washington was using this country as a bridgehead for implementing its interventionist policy in Central America. Since 1982 until now, according to the newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, the Reagan administration spent more than half a billion dollars to arm Honduras and to spread a ramified network of military bases and facilities over its territory so that the entire Central American region could be kept in the gunsight. Let us recall that the nearly unceasing series of manoeuvres held by U.S. and Honduran troops in the past few years were patently anti-Nicaraguan. As a rule, they were held in direct proximity to the border with Nicaragua.

The manoeuvres are held in an area situated close to the border between Honduras and Salvador. It is worth mentioning here that the pro-American Duarte regime is currently engaged in a large-scale punitive operation against Salvadoran rebels, united in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. All indications are that Washington has decided to lend a hand to its placeman by at least demonstrating its military power on the Salvadoran border. Political news analysts do not rule out direct involvement of the American military in reprisals against Salvadoran patriots. In any case, the Central American press reports that Honduran Armed Forces, controlled by Americans, already act in close coordination with the Salvadoran punitive troops.

U.S. unceasing interference in Central America, its attempts to impose its will on the countries and peoples of the region and to use force to solve conflict situations run counter to the process of political settlement in the region as was stipulated by the Guatemala accords signed by Central American presidents. Washington keeps issuing statements which advocate an end to regional conflicts. In reality, however, the USA acts in an opposite direction, leading things to an exacerbation of the Central American conflict.

Political & Social

'Mass Demonstrations' Occur in Armenia

AU1305092388 Paris AFP in English 0901 GMT 13 May 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, May 13 (AFP)—More than 40,000 people demonstrated Thursday night in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, to protest the continued detention of Armenian militant Paruir Ayrikyan, who has been held since March 24, dissidents sources in Yerevan said Friday. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, there was a "mass demonstration" overnight Wednesday in Armenian-dominated Stepanakert, the main town in Nagorno-Karabakh, following the appointment on Tuesday of an Azerbaijani at the post of deputy prosecutor, a member of Mr. Ayrikyan's defence committee, Vartan Arutunyan, said. This was later confirmed by a member of the editorial staff of the SOVIETSKIY KARABAKH daily contacted by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The dissident sources said the two demonstrations were also provoked by the death of an Armenian youth, said to have been beaten to death on May 11 by Azerbaijanis in the town of Shusha, Nagorno-Karabakh.

For the same reasons employees in a so far unknown number of companies went on strike at Stepanakert early Thursday, Mr. Arutunyan said. The SOVIETSKIY KARABAKH source discounted the strike reports but added that the young Armenian had died from "cardiac insuffiency" after a brawl with Azerbaijanis.

According to Mr. Arutunyan, the Yerevan rally was initially scheduled to take place at the police-ringed Opera Square. Demonstrators were then seeking to march to the nearby Kaskad Square but all streets were barred by police. Demonstrators dispersed later the same evening without any police "violence," he added. [passage omitted]

Shusha 'Very Tense'

AU1305134588 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 13 May 88

[Bertrand de Saisset report]

[Excerpts] Moscow, May 13 (AFP)—Mass demonstrations have flared again in Soviet Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Azerbaijani region where bloody inter-ethnic clashes broke out in February, informed sources said Friday. [passage omitted]

Additionally, tens of thousands of Armenians demonstrated in Stepanakert Thursday and Friday mornings outside the headquarters of the Communist Party, regional party chief Niaz Gadjiev told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in a phone call. Mr. Gadjiev said that the Armenians wanted to rid Nagorno-Karabakh of Azerbaijanis, 300 of whom had lost their jobs. Mr. Gadjiev, an Azerbaijani, is party first secretary for Shusha, south of Stepanakert. He said the situation in Shusha was "very tense." [passage omitted]

Armenian militant Vartan Arutunyan said there had been strikes in Stepanakert on Thursday, but a journalist on the local SOVIETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper denied the assertion.

The latest flare-up since the troubles of February-April arises from two incidents, according to evidence from officials and dissidents. The first spark was the nomination on May 10 of an Azebaijani as deputy prosecutor in Nagorno-Karabakh. The second was the death of a young Armenian the next day at Shusha, who was allegedly beaten to death by Azerbaijanis. Mr. Gadjiev insisted the youth had died in hospital following heart problems and had been involved in no punch-up.

In Yerevan, the demonstrators were also protesting about the detention since March 24 of Armenian militant Paruir Ayrikyan. He has been accused of spreading false news and anti-Soviet slander when he went back to Yerevan after briefing Western correspondents here about the situation in the trans-Caucasus. [passage omitted]

A writer with the dissident EXPRESS-KHRONICA, Sergey Lezov, meanwhile told AFP that 240 students of the sociology faculty at Yerevan University had threatened to demonstrate on Thursday if a newspaper which called Mr. Ayrikyan an "agent provocateur" did not publish a retraction. [passage omitted]

Start of Sumgait Murder Trial Reported

LD1305154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent R Talyshinskiy: "Sumgait: Publicly, Openly"]

[Text] The Sumgait City Court has begun hearing the case of the mass disorders which occurred in the city at the end of February.

The case is being heard by a panel of judges from the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court with A.K. Klokov, member of the republic Supreme Court, as chairman.

"The panel," A. Klokov, said, "includes two people's assessors: V.V. Shaldayeva, a welder from Baku's 'Azon' Plant, and N.F. Tsurkan, a turner from the 'Azerelektroterm' Production Association. The task facing us is very complex—I think everybody realizes this. We are aware of the strong public reaction created by the trial. This is why we have a request to make of the press: Avoid hasty assessments during the trial...."

The prosecution is being conducted by Senior Counselor of Justice V.M. Lebedev, USSR deputy general prosecutor. He announced:

"T. Ismaylov, a fitter from the pipe rolling plant, faced the court. He stood accused of premeditated murder with hooligan intent and participation in mass disorders."

The accused is defended by A.P. Ivannikov. He works in Sumgait's Municipal Legal Advice Bureau.

"There are probably no such things as easy trials," A. Ivannikov said. "But this one is particularly difficult for a lawyer. Neither I nor, I believe, any of my colleagues have encountered anything similar in our practice. I have been involved in the case from the preliminary investigation stage. The defense has not encountered any restrictions in its work."

"What could you say about the defendant?"

"He comes from a family of working people. His father is a construction industry worker. There are eight children in the family: two girls and six boys. Ismaylov himself is just over 20 years of age. He graduated from school, did his service in the Army, and started work in the metallurgical equipment maintenance shop at the pipe rolling plant...."

The trial continues. Currently the investigation of three other cases has been completed. The material has been passed to the republic Supreme Court.

'Democratic Union' Leader Milyutin Notes Aims

PM1205155688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 11 May 88 p 14

[Interview with Soviet 'Democratic Union' leader Yuriy Milyutin by Ezio Mauro; date and place not given—first two paragraphs editorial introduction]

[Text] "Here is Rhodes, leap here," Yuriy Milyutin wrote on a piece of paper. Then, propelling himself on his crutches (his left leg is amputated above the knee), he attached the sheet high up on the wall of his two-room apartment obtained from the KGB years ago when he used to work for the secret police.

Now the police have returned to Milyutin's home to search for documents, letters, and above all blue membership cards of the "Democratic Union"—the USSR's first opposition party—distributed Monday, with a space for a signature and photograph, just like in the West. "They searched me and manhandled me," the leader of the new movement said, "and left only when they saw my neighbors arriving, alerted by my shouting. They will return. But we will continue: The single party is the real problem to be resolved, and somehow or other it must be done."

[Mauro] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, can the old CPSU no longer be reformed?

[Milyutin] No. I know it well. For 10 of my 36 years I held a party membership card and in 1917 my grandfather was with the Bolsheviks in St Petersburg. It is the historic option taken then that needs to be reformed: By creating a monopoly on power it created a totalitarian and bureaucratic system that inevitably crushes individuals. This is indeed what has happened.

[Mauro] Now, 70 years on, has the time come to revive the opposition?

[Milyutin] Yes, the crisis of the system demands it. There is no other way. Even restructuring is proceeding under the impetus of the crisis, not through Gorbachev's strength. The sole key to development is opposition and dialectics—in the USSR, the same as everywhere else.

[Mauro] So in order to salvage the USSR is it necessary to act outside Gorbachev's reform plan rather than within it?

[Milyutin] Where is this reform? Of course it exists but it is so small that it affects nothing and nobody.

[Mauro] What kind of person do you believe Gorbachev is?

[Milyutin] He is a progressive bureaucrat. He wants to change things—but within the framework of a bureaucratic way of thinking. He is afraid to depend on people and does not realize that by remaining entrenched in a bureaucratic rationale he will ultimately lose.

[Mauro] So is restructuring futile?

[Milyutin] To be of some use it would have to become more radical, more courageous, and more decisive and would have to learn to take account of people instead of dictating from above in accordance with the party line.

[Mauro] Do you not believe that the CPSU will scale itself down?

[Milyutin] I do not believe it but this is not the point. The CPSU can continue to occupy its position, as long as there are other parties alongside it. We are in favor of social, economic, and political pluralism resulting in a real parliamentary democracy.

[Mauro] How long have you been planning the new party?

[Milyutin] A year.

[Mauro] How did you maintain contacts during this time?

[Milyutin] Through unofficial newspapers, informal groups, and movements. There are three founding groups behind the "Democratic Union"—"Democracy and Humanism," the "Trust Group," and "Perestroyka 88." The first is of Western liberal democratic leanings, the second social democratic, the third socialist and Eurocommunist.

[Mauro] What unites such diverse forces?

[Milyutin] A minimum platform: We want to gain freedom of the press, speech, organization, and assembly; we want to abolish censorship and all the bans that have made the USSR the world leader in numbers of prisoners; we want to proceed from constitutional reform to the reform of the KGB. Once this basic level of democracy has been established, the three founding groups can separate.

[Mauro] How many of you are there at present?

[Milyutin] There are 60 of us. There will be over 200 of us at the constituent congress in June. Bear in mind also that our objectives are realistic, not irresponsible: Basically the system in Bulgaria is no longer based on a single party. Now it is the USSR's turn. We will ask to be registered and will contest the elections.

[Mauro] Will you also request a referendum in the various republics on their membership of the USSR?

[Milyutin] Of course. All peoples are entitled to determine their own future. Even Lenin said so. What happened in the Baltic region was not an autonomous decision but a partitioning between Hitler and Stalin. Now those populations must have restored to them the right to decide whether or not they want to remain within the USSR.

[Mauro] Does possession of those blue membership cards make you feel like outlaws?

[Milyutin] Us? No. It is the CPSU that considers itself above the law.

[Mauro] Yuriy Milyutin, are you not afraid now that you have founded the USSR's first opposition party?

[Milyutin] I will continue in any case. But, yes, I am afraid.

Aims of 'Democratic Alliance' Explained

PM1305115188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 28 Apr 88 p 3

[APN-attributed interview with Boris Kurashvili, leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by V. Telegin under the rubric "Restructuring Through the Eyes of a Scientist": "Democratic Alliance of Social Forces: Utopia? Possibility? Necessity?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] **Public circles are discussing the idea of forming a new mass sociopolitical organization—a democratic alliance. Its advocates believe that it could help to coordinate the interests of different social groups and give every person and even every local independently-run organization additional opportunities to show their worth in the management of the country's affairs.**

An active supporter of the formation of the alliance is lawyer Boris Kurashvili, a leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute. So how does he justify the need for this new organization?

[Kurashvili] The need for such an organization is explained by at least two reasons. First, in my opinion, there is a certain gap in our political system which was somehow ignored in the conditions of stagnation but which has become quite clear in the restructuring period. I am referring to the fact that we still do not have any mass social formations using a broad range of social interests to unite those people who are not members of the Communist Party—this is, after all, the majority of our country's population. A democratic alliance could immediately assume the function of this kind of association, following the example of a number of other socialist states.

The other reason is that restructuring has prompted rapid growth in the people's sociopolitical activeness. This is particularly evident in the appearance of more and more new independently-run social associations. Their potential, however, is certainly not being fully used at present, because, as a rule, these associations have no access to the existing system of management and have no contact with the areas where the decisions are really made. That is why the country needs this mass democratic organization which could accumulate the interests of the most diverse social forces and groups and give them access to political leadership.

[Telegin] On the basis of what principles could this organization be formed?

[Kurashvili] It must have both individual and collective membership. Virtually any adult could become an individual member of the alliance, as he would not have to go through such a strict selection procedure as, say, for membership of the party. Other inflexible requirements such as, for example, active involvement in the work of the organization are also irrational. Every citizen is free to participate in its activity to the degree he himself feels necessary.

As far as collective membership is concerned, many of the independently-run organizations now being established could join if they wished. The alliance would give them the opportunity to discuss and coordinate issues affecting everyone and would act as an arena of public consensus.

[Telegin] There must be some selection criteria, however, to become a member of the alliance. For example, surely active supporters of restructuring and people openly opposed to this process could not be members of the same organization? If they do need some organizational associations, there should be different alliances.

[Kurashvili] In my opinion, the sole criterion for admission to the alliance should be the **common socialist orientation** of those people and social groups who wish to take part in its work. With regard to different standpoints within the framework of this orientation, the alliance should exclude no one on these grounds. And if we are talking specifically about supporters and opponents of restructuring, there is no doubt that the democratic alliance will primarily attract people who actively favor change—after all, it will give them the opportunity to realize their aspirations.

At the same time, the alliance must not cut itself off from people who criticize restructuring from "the left" or "the right"—a good dose of criticism and self-criticism could help it considerably even now. You must agree that the restructuring process in our country is still undecided: There are large differences between the concept and its real embodiment in real decisions at grassroots level. In these conditions any criticism is good because it excites public opinion, draws attention to unresolved problems, and helps us to make more well considered decisions.

The task of the alliance will be to seek alternative paths for society's socialist development and to take part in the selection of the optimum solutions to any problem it may encounter. But this search will produce few results if the alliance becomes too uniform in terms of the interests and attitudes of its members.

[Telegin] But there are organizations in our country whose real actions are highly dubious from the viewpoint of the socialist option. Take the "Pamyat" Society, for example. It does have a healthy wing, but there are also a considerable number of members and even leaders who take a nationalist, chauvinist stance. What will happen if "Pamyat" wants to join the alliance?

[Kurashvili] I am confident that the alliance will not forgo its principles and, if "Pamyat" wants to take part in its work, it will have to adjust its course. Moreover, I do not rule out the possibility of this kind of organization splitting in such cases.

[Telegin] What kind of organizational structure should the democratic alliance assume, in your view?

[Kurashvili] It is most likely to have its own central body and territorial—republic and local—organizations. As far as lower-level organizations are concerned—at enterprises and institutions—then I feel there is no particular need for them. Or perhaps there is. This must be decided by the alliance itself.

In general I believe that the alliance should not be based on the same principles as those on which the party is organized. After all, it does not conceive of itself as a new party, although, in my opinion, there is no need to fear this kind of analogy. No, we have no real social-class basis for a second party, but there is still a need for an organization that would fulfill some of its functions. I am thinking in particular of the possibility of criticizing the state and party apparatus and trying to ensure that these bodies more efficiently implement the program aims of the party. I am sure that we will find sufficient grounds to make this kind of criticism.

[Telegin] But all existing social organizations—trade unions, the Komsomol, women's councils, and so forth—already possess this right....

[Kurashvili] Of course, but each of them operates within its own limits, which are determined by the interests of the social groups and strata behind them. The democratic alliance can combine these social organizations and the interests they represent, as it is open to Communists and non-party people, members and "non-members" of trade unions, people of all ages and professions, and to traditional and new social organizations, including unofficial ones. In short, it is open to anyone who wishes to become involved in its work.

[Telegin] What rights and possibilities must the alliance have to be able to put its decisions into practice?

[Kurashvili] I do not think that the alliance should have any "authoritative" rights, as all social organizations in the USSR implement their decisions through the system of organs of state power—the soviets. And so the task of the alliance must be to persuade state bodies of the expediency of its decisions being implemented. But not only by sending papers to the various "authorities"—many other methods must also be used.

[Telegin] Which precisely?

[Kurashvili] First, the alliance must take part in the soviet election campaigns. Essentially, it will be like the further development and organizational formalization of the electoral bloc of Communists and nonparty people which has long been proclaimed in our country; the possibility to influence the nomination of candidate deputies and the agitation on behalf of any of them will undoubtedly guarantee the alliance a certain degree of authority in organs of power.

Another channel of persuasion is the mass media. With their help the alliance will be able to influence public opinion and, through this, organs of authority and management. And, of course, the alliance must have the right of legislative initiative in the USSR Supreme Soviet in the person of its central organs, as well as the right to submit proposals on various referendums.

[Telegin] And how, in your opinion, will its relations take shape with other social and state bodies?

[Kurashvili] First of all, its relationship with the CPSU. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the Soviet people and the leading force and core of their state and social organizations. Naturally, it will also be responsible for the general leadership of the democratic alliance. But this is really a question of political wisdom. The most important thing is not to take away its autonomy and independent position: The alliance must have the right to its own opinion and to its own face. In other words, it must really be a mass sociopolitical organization of the people.

As far as its relationship with the administrative apparatus is concerned, it is not hard to foresee both the opportunity for coordinated work and the likelihood of various conflicts, because it is precisely the administrative apparatus that is most infected by bureaucracy in our country today. In this respect the alliance could lose the confidence of its members and society's respect if it fails to wage an uncompromising struggle against all bureaucratic distortions.

[Telegin] Do you believe that this kind of alliance could be formed in the near future?

[Kurashvili] Of course I do. I am convinced of this by the whole logic of the processes of restructuring and democratization currently taking place in the country. These processes are simply crying out for a new social mechanism as a result of which, as M.S. Gorbachev said when addressing the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, "effective, democratic control would be clearly established and the relevant legal procedures evolved which would...rule out the possibility of subjectivism at every 'level' of our political system. We must ensure that fundamental decisions are worked out and adopted with the active involvement of the people."

The democratic alliance of social forces could be just such a new social mechanism.

Politburo Discusses Sociological Matters

PM1305132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the headline "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] A routine meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on 12 May discussed the development of sociological research and the preparation of the appropriate cadres. It was pointed out at the meeting that the implementation of the course of the 27th party congress and the subsequent plenums of the party Central Committee aimed at increasing the initiative of the working people, the carrying out of radical economic reform, the all-round democratization of society, and the renewal of its spiritual and moral sphere make qualitatively new demands on sociology as a science and on the use of the results of sociological research in the practice of managing social processes in the period of restructuring.

The Politburo supported the proposal of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans on additional measures to improve the living conditions of war and labor veterans and the introduction of a number of benefits and privileges for them. It was emphasized that concern for the older generations of Soviet people is the duty of every labor collective and of all state and public organizations. It is important to surround veterans with respect and attention, to satisfy more fully their needs and justified requests.

Approval was given to the measures drafted by the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU aimed at overcoming delays in the construction of nursing homes for the elderly and invalids, at improving the living conditions of invalids and those who participated in the war, and of the families of servicemen who died and also at improving the provision of medical, shopping, and social and amenity services for pensioners. It provides for extending a number of benefits and privileges established for those who participated in the war, to people who were awarded orders and medals of the USSR for selfless labor and irreproachable military service in the rear during the Great Patriotic War.

There was a discussion about letters received from working people and publications in connection with the construction of the Caucasus Pass railway. It was recognized as necessary to submit the plan for the abovementioned railway for consideration by experts and additional study, taking account of the complaints and proposals expressed by the public.

The Politburo approved a proposal to publish the series "From the History of the Fatherland's Political Thought."

The Politburo discussed the results of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and T. Fuwa, deputy chairman of the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] Central Committee. The meeting showed the mutual striving of the CPSU and the JCP to deepen their fruitful cooepration in the struggle to remove the nuclear threat and to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. It revealed the possibility of expanding contacts and interaction between the two parties. It was stressed that the noncoincidence of approaches to certain questions should not be an obstacle to the deepening of interaction between the CPSU and the JCP.

Approval was also given to the results of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and T. Doi, chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] Central Executive Committee. The meeting confirmed the proximity of the positions of the CPSU and the JSP on a number of questions of world policy. The CPSU and the JSP will continue their dialogue and cooperation in the interests of nuclear disarmament, ensuring peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region, and the establishment of good-neighborliness with Japan.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed and adopted decisions on certain other questions of the intenal and foreign policy of our party and state.

Ligachev, Zaykov Visit Newspaper Offices

PM1205131588 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Attention to the Practical Deeds of Restructuring"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, visited the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Publishing House 4 May.

Meetings and conversations with printing workers and editorial office staffers took place in the printing house. It was noted that it is necessary to speed up the building of the new publishing house premises, supply it fully with modern printing equipment, and introduce electronic technology more widely. Specific measures were planned to strengthen the material and technical base and to improve the working and living conditions for the publishing house and editorial office collectives.

Ye.K. Ligachev and L.N. Zaykov had a businesslike and meaningful conversation with leaders of the newspapers MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA. It was stressed during the conversation that Moscow's mass media play an important role in mobilizing the capital's working people for active participation in restructuring, the radical renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and the elimination of shortcomings preventing this. The city's newspapers provide fuller coverage of life in the rayons and labor collectives where the tangible results of restructuring are produced. The program for supplying individual apartments for Moscow's families by the year 2000, which is of paramount importance, is now subject to public monitoring. Muscovites' opinions and their diverse points of view on topical questions are given increasingly broad coverage.

The energies of editorial office collectives today must be aimed at ensuring specific positive changes for the better, at transforming the creative energy of the masses into practical deeds. It was stressed during the conversation that particular attention must be given to questions of the effective utilization of the capital's mighty potential for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the dissemination of advanced experience in the economy's transfer to new conditions of economic management. Practical measures are needed to improve the entire sphere of social services for working people. Journalists must be active fighters for the new and must channel their knowledge and talents toward the cause of ideological backup for restructuring, implementation of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum decisions, and successful preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Gorkom Meeting 3 May

PM1205125788 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "To Consolidate the Mood for Work"]

[Excerpts] The results of, preparations for, and celebration of May Day in the capital were discussed at a conference attended by party raykom first secretaries at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom 3 May. [passage omitted]

The May Day celebrations convincingly confirmed Muscovites' undivided support for the party's course of restructuring and for the CPSU's innovative foreign policy. [passage omitted]

The conference was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

RSFSR Government Discusses Non-Chernozem

PM1205151788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 May 88 p 1

[TASS report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers held 6 May discussed the question "On Measures To Fulfill the Tasks Stemming from Party and Government Decisions on the Social and Economic Development of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone."

It was noted that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers show constant concern for the development and enhanced efficiency of agro-industrial complex sectors in this region. Considerable resources are being channeled into strengthening the material and technical base of the production sphere and the creation of social infrastructure in the countryside.

RSFSR ministries and departments and soviet and economic organs in non-Chernozem Zone autonomous republics and oblasts are doing a certain amount of work on the transformation of the non-Chernozem Zone. Over the last 12 years fixed capital and the power:worker ratio on kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased by a factor of 2.5, and a powerful potential for rural and water supply construction has been created. Land reclamation work has been carried out on 9 million hectares of agricultural land. There has been an increase in the construction of housing, general educational schools, preschool establishments, clubs, hospitals, and other projects for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes.

The implementation of the course elaborated by the party is having a positive effect on the development of this important economic region. The previous decline in the production of agricultural output has been halted. Its average annual volume increased by 7 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan period and by 8 percent in the first two years of the current 5-year plan period. Over the last few years the zone as a whole has been fulfilling the procurement plans for grain, livestock and poultry, milk, eggs, and other produce. Labor productivity is growing at a faster pace than in the RSFSR as a whole. The supply of foodstuffs to the population has improved somewhat.

At the same time, it was emphasized at the session that so far there has been no fundamental breakthrough in the development of agro-industrial production in the non-Chernozem Zone. The RSFSR Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Gosplan, the RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products, the RSFSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, other ministries and departments to which work in the non-Chernozem Zone has been assigned, and local soviet and economic organs have not ensured a comprehensive approach toward solving the tasks of boosting agriculture and other agro-industrial complex sectors and have not achieved a substantial increase in returns on invested capital. The region's agricultural production is developing erratically, and this creates tension in the supply of foodstuffs for the population. The production of output is growing at particularly slowly in Ivanovo, Kalinin, Vladimir, Kostroma, Kirov, Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, and Yaroslavl Oblasts.

The RSFSR Gosplan, the RSFSR Gosagroprom, other ministries and departments, and non-Chernozem Zone autonomous republic councils of ministers and oblispolkoms underestimate the urgency of the countryside's social problems. Housing construction and medical, trade, and consumer services for the population are lagging on many farms, and there is a shortage of general educational schools, preschool establishments, and clubs. The acceleration of the non-Chernozem Zone's transformation is being held back by lack of roads and the slow rate of provision of gas and electricity services for production and domestic premises.

The RSFSR Gosplan, ministries and departments, and local soviet organs do not properly monitor the fulfillment of party and government decisions restricting the siting of new industrial projects in the zone, and this is aggravating the already acute problem of labor resources in the countryside.

The session noted that there have been no substantial changes as regards improving working conditions for the workers. The USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building is being slow to resolve questions of supplying farms with the equipment they need. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are experiencing acute shortages of all machines for the cultivation of potatoes, vegetables, flax, and feed crops. Equipment for the harvesting of agricultural crops in excessively moist conditions is manufactured in small quantities. Machines and equipment for stock raising fail to meet modern requirements. Targets for the comprehensive mechanization of stock units are not being met.

There are serious shortcomings in capital construction. The targets set for the construction of projects for production purposes, apartment blocks, children's institutions, and clubs are not being met. The construction and reconstruction of enterprises in the agro-industrial complex processing sectors is progressing slowly.

Land reclamation organizations and soviet and economic organs have failed to ensure the integrated fulfillment of land reclamation work and are failing to meet the targets for the construction of new sovkhozes. Insufficient work is being done on the reconstruction of land reclamation systems, the draining of land and swamps for peat extraction, and the improvement of natural meadows and pastureland. The large funds invested in land reclamation over a long period of time are not producing the expected returns.

Agro-industrial organs are not paying due attention to enhancing the standard of crop farming and stockraising, improving soil fertility, and making rational use of land. The area of acid soil is being reduced only slowly. Work on the collection and application of organic fertilizers, the rational utilization of chemicals, and the assimilation of intensive technologies is not properly organized everywhere. All this has a negative effect on the harvest yields of agricultural crops and on the quality of output.

Practical measures were discussed regarding the improvement of the feed base, the introduction of advanced technologies in feed production everywhere, the improvement of grass seed production, the enhancement of meadow and pasture productivity, and the provision of feed storage facilities to fully meet every farm's needs.

The newly established RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom was instructed to step up work on boosting the economy of laggard farms and making extensive use of various forms of contractual activity for this purpose to ensure that the land has stewards enjoying all the rights to which they are entitled. More persistence must be displayed in developing subsidiary production units and cooperative activity with industrial and other enterprises and building up food resources on the basis of greater integration between social production and the population's personal farms, gardening and orcharding partnerships, and industrial enterprises' subsidiary farms.

There was serious criticism of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Department and of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences All-Russia Department for the inadequate scientific backup they have provided for the development of the agro-industrial complex. Their activity lacks in-depth elaboration of problems concerning the rational utilization of land and especially of natural feed crop fields, efficient land reclamation, optimization of the structure of production, deepening of economic accountability, and collective and leasing contracts with due consideration for local conditions.

Attention was drawn to the need to improve the training and retention of cadres in mass trades, to improve the selection and placement of farm leaders and specialists, and to reinforce farms with skilled mid-level management cadres.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers made it incumbent upon ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and oblispolkoms to eliminate existing shortcomings in fulfilling the party and government resolutions on the transformation of the RSFSR non-Chernozem Zone.

Particular attention was devoted to increasing the efficiency of the utilization of production and economic potential created there, the preferential development of the social sphere and primarily of road and housing construction, and the acceleration of the provision of gas and electricity services in villages.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers examined and basically approved a draft comprehensive program for the social and economic development of the RSFSR non-Chernozem Zone in 1988-1995.

Attaching great importance to the further growth of the production of agricultural output, the RSFSR Council of Ministers demanded that the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Gosagroprom, other ministries and departments, and local soviet and economic organs ensure the organized fulfillment of spring field work and the completion of livestock wintering and prepare for the harvest in good time so that this year sees an appreciable step in boosting the production of food resources.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, attended and addressed the session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

USSR ministers; autonomous republic council of ministers and oblispolkom chairmen and party obkom secretaries from the RSFSR non-Chernozem Zone; and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, and a number of union ministries and departments took part in the session's work.

The session was addressed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Election of Conference Delegates Begins

LD1305064488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] An important stage in the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference has arrived. The election of delegates has begun in the country. In accordance with the decision of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum, the delegates for the 19th all-union party conference should be elected by secret ballot at the plena of the Communist Party central committees of the union republics, kray, and oblast party committees. Many are concerned about who will be elected for the conference, and in whose hands the fate of making decisions on vitally important problems of our society and socialism will rest. In general, people are concerned about the fate of restructuring. The CPSU Central Committee has formulated the position that fervent supporters of restructuring, energetic communists, have to be elected delegates—no orders, as was the case, in the past about the numbers of workers and farmers and women and so on. The main political aim is to elect active supporters of restructuring to the conference.

The CPSU Central Committee has advocated that the selection of candidatures should proceed without fail with party organizations, labor collectives, and rayon and town committees taking part, in public generally. Certain oblast party committees have decided to publish the proposed candidates for the conference in the local press even before the plena are held, just before the voting, so that they are discussed publicly. As a whole, about 5,000 delegates are to be elected, the same number that was elected to the 27th party congress.

Italian CP Paper Views Press on Conference

PM1305091288 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 10 May 88 p 4

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "CPSU Conference: Conflict Heating Up"]

[Text] Moscow—"Nobody can yet say who is right—the supporters of perestroyka or their adversaries. Looking back at history, nobody knows where the truth lies—with Stalinism or with Bukharinism." This was written by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA reader Yuriy Perfilov of Penza Oblast, in a letter to the paper. His crystal-clear opinion is one of the many dozens appearing in the newspapers at the moment, while uncertainty and a tense restlessness seem to dominate the controversy. The substance of Gorbachev's speech on Saturday to representatives of the media, creative unions, and ideological institutions is not yet known. All that is known is that the debate was wide-ranging and not free of asperity. It is difficult to calculate what is happening behind the scenes. The only definite thing is that the balance has not yet been stabilized and that the exchange of blows is becoming increasingly intense. The participants in this duel are using different kinds of weapons, however. The "renewalists" are talking increasingly openly. The "conservatives" seem to be saving their words and devoting themselves to concrete actions. Saturday's PRAVDA editorial announced that Gorbachev's adversaries are "inflicting blows on perestroyka's supporters with methodical cunning." Yesterday, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA again returned to the topic of the 19th conference with an article by Lipetsk Oblast First Secretary Yuriy Manayenkov (a full Central Committee member), which takes issue severely with the article by Nina Andreyeva. It contains a rather shocking passage, also suggesting a fight with no holds barred. "Perhaps the time has come," Manayenkov writes, "to publish the documents that show how certain party leaders 'who now enjoy authority' responded to instructions from the center on plans to eliminate 'enemies of the people' by sending telegrams to Moscow requesting that the plans be increased, in other words, that more people be shot." To whom is Manayenkov referring? Certainly not to youthful leaders. Definitely to 'authoritative' leaders. The weekly OGONEK carries a very fierce article by critic Yuriy Karyakin which demolishes Zhdanov but which aims to respond, point by point, to Andreyeva and whoever instigated her. "I am constantly hearing it repeated," Karyakin writes, "that Stalin had merits and so did Zhdanov.... Well, I will tell you that I agree, but only with a personal proviso. Have it your way, by all means. By all means, like this, for instance: 'Apart from their merits, Stalin and Zhdanov had a single shortcoming: They were butchers....'"

Do you say that the disclosure of Stalin's crimes outrages the people? Well, Karyakin continues, "let us start saying how many altogether were illegally repressed, how many were killed." "You do not even want to know. If you did know you would do your utmost to conceal it and to conceal what is already known. This is deceiving those who want to know. It is you who must now prove that we would not have won the war without the physical elimination of millions of honest people. Prove it!" Then, addressing himself directly to the organizers of the anti-perestroyka manifesto, Karyakin lets loose his heaviest invective: "I am convinced that the entire chronicle of your manifesto—its formulation and drafting and the organization of its support—will be reconstructed day by day, with all its tragic and comic details. How was it decided to publish it? What was the strategy? Why did the manifesto not appear on 10 March or 21 March? Of particular interest will be the chronicle of events between 13 March and 5 April...." (when PRAVDA's reply was published—L'UNITA editor's note).

So the cards have been laid on the table, at least on one side. The Leningrad television channel broadcast a program last Friday during which all viewers heard the following remark made by an anonymous passerby: "Give us back Yeltsin and take back your Solovyev" (the Leningrad first secretary and candidate Politburo member who immediately telephoned Andreyeva to congratulate her—L'UNITA editor's note). On Sunday, however, the eve of the anniversary of the victory over nazism, Soviet television again broadcast the documentary on the "victory parade." The Soviets know it by heart because they see it every year. Stalin appears in it some dozen times—paternal, victorious. It also includes the whole of the speech by Zhukov, who never mentioned him—not once—and who praised only the Soviet people...."

Information Report on Latvian CP Plenum

PM1305133988 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 6 May 88 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Information Report on Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum took place in Riga on 5 May. The plenum discussed the question "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization To Strengthen the Working People's Ideological-Political, International, and Patriotic Education at the Present Stage of Restructuring."

B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

The following took part in the debate on the report: A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga Party Gorkom; K.I. Eyzhvertinya, reel operator at the Daugavpilsk "Khimvolokno" Production Association named for the Lenin Komsomol; L.A. Ozolin, actress at the Yan Raynis State Academic Arts Theater; A.A. Stauberg, first secretary of the Tsesisskiy Party Raykom; L.G. Sozonov, turner-borer at the Riga Technological Equipment Experimental Plant; Poet Ya.Ya. Peters, chairman of the Latvian SSR Union of Writers Board; Ya.P. Britans, editor of CINA; Colonel General V.I. Grishin, commander of the troops of the Baltic Red Banner Military District; Ya.B. Rantsan, leader of a team of installation workers at the "Promtekhmontazh" Trust's Riga Specialized Assembly Administration; S.V. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB; I.E. Spila, machine operator at Ogrskiy Rayon's "Lachplesis" Kolkhoz; Kh.E. Plauks, first secretary of the Liyepaya Party Gorkom; A.A. Drizul, vice-president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences; R. Ezera, Latvian SSR people's writer; Z.S. Petkevich, first secretary of the Rezeknenskiy Party Raykom; and V.O. Miller, acting director of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law.

B.K. Pugo delivered the concluding speech at the plenum.

The plenum adopted a detailed resolution on the question under discussion.

The plenum expelled A.T. Chmykhalov, who was a member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, from the party for discrediting the title of member of the CPSU.

S.S. Slobodyanyuk, sector chief in the International Relations Subdepartment of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

The plenum materials will be published in the next issues of the republic's newspapers.

Moldavian Central Committee Plenum Held 27 Apr

PM1105095388 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in Kishinev on 27 April. First secretaries of party raykoms, chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, leaders of ministries and departments who are not members of the republic party organization's elected bodies, trade union and Komsomol workers, and leaders and secretaries of party organizations in academic institutions were invited to attend.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, gave a report entitled "On the Results of the February (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization Resulting From Its Decisions and the Speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev."

The following took part in the discussions: A.D. Gandrabura, first secretary of the Bessarabskiy party raykom; A.N. Kapatsyna, teacher of history and secretary of the party organization at Kishinev's No 10 Secondary School; I.I. Arnaut, first secretary of the Chadyr-Lungskiy party raykom; O.M. Fefilova, master horticulturist at the "Pamyat Ilicha" Interfarm Fruit Production Enterprise in Slobodzeyskiy Rayon; D.G. Zidu, Moldavian SSR minister of education; A.K. Mironik, secretary of the Kishinev party gorkom; D.A. Klevtsov, director of the Suvorov Sovkhoz in Dubossarskiy Rayon; G.Ye. Rusnak, secretary of the party committee of the Kishinev V.I. Lenin State University; V.A. Kudryavtsev, chairman of the Tiraspol Gorispolkom; V.G. Unguryan, rector of the Kishinev M.V. Frunze Agricultural Institute; A.G. Grezhdiyeru, editor of the newspaper NARODNOYE OBRAZOVANIYE; I.I. Buzhenitsa, first secretary of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee; L.M. Grishchenko, teacher of Russian language and literature and secretary of the party organization at Beltsy No 8 School; V.F. Stanev, chairman of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; M.S. Platon, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

The plenum was addressed by I.V. Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum unanimously approved a resolution on the issue under discussion.

Obkom Chief Fired After Typhoid Outbreak

PM1005153988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent T. Chanturiya report: "Outbreak. The Problem Might Not Have Happened If Ecological Bans Had Not Constantly Been Broken"]

[Text] Georgian SSR—One would have thought that typhoid was becoming a thing of the past. But it is happening now, in April 1988: In Tskhinvali, capital of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, 138 people have been hospitalized in 2 weeks and in 86 of them the diagnosis has been confirmed.

Measures have been taken, of course. The outbreak has rapidly begun to wane, of course. But the only thing on the wane is exactly that—the outbreak of the disease. The other outbreak—of public indignation—is spreading like wildfire. It has brought people out into the central square and forced leaders to explain themselves to the people—eye to eye, without beating about the bush, without intermediaries—and hear their verdict....

The first casualty appeared on 7 April. Soon the city hospital was receiving up to 20 patients a day. No one could guess the cause, as is the case with a tooth that has long been in torment: The most serious of all of Tskhinvali's problems was the water. The district where the disease was widespread confirmed this theory. This part of the city was supplied with water from the old Kekhvi pipeline. It passed first through four villages and it was from here that the casualties were coming.

On 10 April the decision was made to close "old Kekhvi" and another two water pipelines linked to it. Almost 15,000 people were transferred totally to imported water. Imagine these tanker trucks and buckets against the background of the general lack of sanitary conditions in the city and it will become clear why the purification of the water line and its recommissioning proceeded at a feverish pace.

At a feverish pace—but it still took days rather than hours. People gave all they had got but seemed to be running in place nevertheless—their picks and shovels were no substitute for the equipment lacking. The tanks of the main purification units and the contact reservoir were cleared of sediment manually, while the special pump designed for this work that had to come from far away failed to materialize.

At last the filters were changed—for the first time in 10 years. At one time, foreman Georgiy Kakhniashvili recalled while we were there (he has worked at the purification unit since 1944), the filters were changed every year. Khristo Rusishvili has been head of the unit for 17 years and so-called repairs have been under way for the last 10, he laughed.... We have watched this repair work—two workers have been slowly plastering the external wall. But this cosmetic operation did not enhance the appearance of the unit because of its decrepitude and general delapidation....

"And we have wasted 8 days on this clean-up operation," Suliko Kirtadze, head doctor of the republic's sanitation and epidemic control service, said with annoyance.

Perhaps it seems strange to you that an epidemiologist should be involved in cleaning out a water supply line? Yes, and in repairing it too.

At that time everyone had a hand in everything—ministers, zealous bureaucrats, supervisors all descended on Tskhinvali. This is normal for an emergency, if it had not so betrayed the helplessness of the local services. But "helplessness" is too loyal a word and not quite apt in this case.

A question for T. Kabisov, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom; I. Tedeyev, head of the oblast municipal services department; E. Dzhioyev, head of the oblast health department; and B. Kabulova, acting head doctor of the oblast sanitation and epidemic control station: Was what happened an accident? Everyone, apart from the oblast health department, replied: Yes, it was an accident. Even Kabulova from the oblast sanitation and epidemic control station. Meanwhile, her chief Ch. Bagayev (currently on leave) wrote to M. Sanakoyev, head of the city water supply service, shortly before the outbreak (we will omit earlier warnings): "There have been frequent cases of the city's water supply being polluted in January 1988.... There have been frequent cases of water from the Kekhvi supply line being polluted.... The above carries the threat of an outbreak of infectious diseases."

At a poultry farm near Tskhinvali, B. Kabulova was found to have issued instructions to the director of the farm on 17 April: "Tests have established that water from a marshy area is being pumped into the water supply reservoir, which constitutes a most flagrant violation...." Evidently this kind of violation is nothing new at the poultry farm. It has a portable pump on wheels standing at the ready. R. Kalandarishvili, head livestock specialist, asked us to put ourselves in his shoes: When the water supply dries up he does not want to have to let 60,000 chickens die. To prevent this, they pump water from the marsh that has a "coli" index factor of 1,100 (against a norm of 3). But this is virtually sewage, S. Kirtadze, head doctor of the republic sanitation and epidemic control service, asserted in his instructions to the oblispolkom.

When the water supply line is empty, specialists believe, it is quite possible that the resulting vacuum will suck in remaining impurities from the poultry farm reservoir. The consequences are quite predictable....

Yes, there is simply no getting away from "accidents." Since last November the sanitation and epidemic control service had been sending warnings to M. Sanakoyev, head of the city water supply service, regarding the catastrophically high chlorine level in the water—the latter took no notice. The warnings were sent to him by registered mail—absolutely no action was taken in response. The lamentable state of the Tskhinvali water supply and city water mains is on record and accumulating nightmare details—and the paperwork is still sitting on the tables in piles of various height.

We left the city on the evening of 22 April. Nevertheless, no one would have guaranteed that along the entire length of the water supply line every gap and leak had been sealed and cleaned. Or that every manhole—and there are dozens of them—is now safe against the danger of fresh contamination. "Old Kekhvi" is simply battered and bruised....

...The story goes that when the crowd first congregated noisily in the square, someone held up a placard saying "Save our children." By that time the peak of the danger was past, and they knew this. It seemed that, released from their stress, people had begun to think about their lives in the future and not just about how to "survive." You should not wait for the next storm to break or the bullock cart to overturn, runs a Georgian saying.

Issues like these require a direct dialogue with senior leaders. There was no discussion with F. Sanakoyev, first secretary of the party obkom for many years, or with A. Kachmazov, chairman of the oblispolkom. As promised, there was a meeting the next day between "the people in the square" and Z. Chkheidze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers. The hall proved too small to accomodate everyone and so the microphone was taken outside into the open air. They talked for over 3 hours. At the end of the meeting people sent notes saying: "We believe you" and "Thank you for being so frank" They dispersed calmly. But the next day...the square was full of people again.

[Chanturiya] What do you make of this, Zurab Amvrosyevich?

[Chkheidze] I have reminded myself how many promises these people have heard in the past.... I spent today visiting labor collectives in Tskhinvali. Everyone was talking about the same thing—the outrages in the municipal and consumer services. People are angered by the lack of action taken by the authorities, the dirt in the streets, the poor supply system, and poor trade. There are no proper leisure facilities.... These are all fair criticisms. Almost all these problems would have been solved long ago if past resolutions on the oblast's economic and social development had been even 80 percent fulfilled. There have been four such resolutions, dating back to 1974.

[Chanturiya] You mean, they have been poorly implemented by republic-level organs and departments?

[Chkheidze] Yes, and now they are paying for it by having to urgently find additional reserves for the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. But these problems should be raised in good time! In good time! That's what you have oblast leaders for! But quite the reverse has happened—many issues have got as far as the first secretary and have neither been solved nor made further progress.

And now people are saying frankly and firmly: We do not believe the obkom secretary, we will not follow him, get rid of him. The city leaders have also excelled themselves—they have made no attempt to explain things to people and have been keeping a low profile.

[Chanturiya] A governmental commission under your leadership is currently drawing up measures to assist the oblast and preparing another government resolution. Vitally important measures are being put in writing—to commission a new water supply line, enhance construction capacities, resolutely revise the organization of work in the housing and municipal services system, draw up a program of cultural building—there is not time to go through them all now.... But are there any guarantees that this will not just be more paper?

[Chkheidze] There is a guarantee: The people will not stand for any failure to implement the resolution. [Chkheidze ends]

A South Osetian party obkom plenum was held in Tskhinvali on 22 April. It was attended by D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. The plenum released F. Sanakoyev from his duties as first secretary of the obkom and dismissed him from the obkom bureau. The newspapers said it was "in connection with his transfer to other work." Again the question arises: From whom are they hiding what really happened? From the people? Quick, understanding smiles again flash across people's faces. This is usual—and that is what is particularly bad, given that the turn of events as a whole is unusual.

The newly elected first secretary, 38-year-old Anatoliy Chekhoyev, has not inherited an easy situation. If a house has been neglected and has not been aired for years, the most urgent task is to throw open the windows. To let in frankness, directness, and clarity. There would be nothing worse than to drag the old "double" reckoning back into the house again.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau recently discussed the question of serious shortcomings in the socioeconomic development of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast and additional measures to accelerate this development. Bleak assessments were made. Attention was drawn to faulty work methods on the part of the oblast's leading organs, parasitical attitudes, bureaucratic style, cadre selection based on principles of personal loyalty, nepotism, and the substitution of elected organs by the party apparatus.

We must look to the future, the bureau stressed. Urgent work needs to be done, but the people's mood is set by everyday routine. They will no longer stand for stagnation in their life. Office walls are losing their former impenetrability. This is a lesson.

... Mountains of garbage are now being removed from the streets of Tskhinvali. It has compacted over the years—the bulldozer can barely cope.

Sparse Reporting on Hostages Abroad Criticized

PM1305080988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 May 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from N. Preobrazhenskiy under the rubric "...Follow-up to 'Not For Publication'": "Give Prompt Information"]

[Text] By your rubric, you would have us believe that there is full glasnost in our country.

But I do not think that this letter of mine, prompted by an article on the fate of Soviet geologists seized in Mozambique by armed rebels ("Beneath Alien Skies," IZVESTIYA No. 8), could be printed. Indeed, we sometimes learn more about our own country from foreign sources than from our own information organs. I remember how four of our countrymen were kidnapped in Beirut. It seems this happened in autumn of 1985. Cuba's GRANMA immediately printed their photographs and information on each of them and reported the demands made by the terrorists, while our own press provided us with incredibly scant information on the incident.

I would like to compare the behavior of our officials with that of our Czechoslovak comrades in a similar situation. In the same year, 1983, when the Soviet geologists were kidnapped in Mozambique, rebels seized some Czechoslovak specialists in Angola. I subscribed to RUDE PRAVO at the time and followed the story. The CSSR newspapers immediately reported the incident and gave a detailed description of everything known at the time. It took more than a year before the prisoners were finally returned, and throughout this time the Czechoslovak press gave information on the progress made in the negotiations and on the people's fate. The country's president publicly appealed for the mediation of the UN secretary general. The whole country knew what was happening and lived through the ordeal together. No one made any "secrets." And when the people were released and returned home, there was a national celebration. The Czechoslovak newspapers wrote about this for 2 days, carried photographs of their countrymen, and published interviews with them. Condolences were publicly expressed to the families of those who had died.

Reading the Czechoslovak newspapers, I constantly thought to myself: When on earth will our country become a little more civilized in this respect?

Status of Kazakh Housing Program Viewed

*PM0605132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: On the Work of Kazakh SSR Soviets of People's Deputies and Their Executive and Administrative Organs To Overcome the Lag in Construction of Housing and Development of the Sociocultural Sphere"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined the work of Kazakh SSR soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative [ispolnitelnyy i rasporyaditelnyy] organs to overcome the lag in the construction of housing and the development of the sociocultural sphere. The adopted resolution notes that a noticeable improvement has been registered in the Kazakh SSR in the practical implementation of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress in accelerating the solution of the housing problem and developing sociocultural construction.

In an atmosphere of broad democracy and glasnost the "Zhilye-91" program has been drawn up and approved in the republic. The program makes provision for improving, by 1991, the housing conditions of all families on the waiting list prior to 1987. The volume of housing to be commissioned under the program is 45 percent above the volume set by the plan and 50 percent higher than the volume of housing commissioned in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

The republic's soviets of people's deputies have actively joined in the work connected with implementing this program. Reports of soviet leaders and economic managers to labor collectives and the population on the course of implementing the program are becoming a regular practice. Work on housing construction and other social sphere projects is being given extensive coverage in the press, radio, and television.

During the first year of the program's implementation a total of 23 percent more housing was commissioned than in 1986. The volume of individual housing construction increased by 37 percent during the same year. The republic's population received around 140,000 new apartments. Housing conditions of one in five of the families on the waiting list were improved.

The past year also marked a breakthrough in construction of sociocultural projects. The plans for the commissioning of general education and vocational and technical schools, preschool establishments, and hospitals and polyclinics financed by state capital investments were fulfilled.

At the same time the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium emphasized that the achieved results represent only the first step in the work to overcome the serious lag which has been allowed to build up in the Kazakh SSR in housing construction and development of the material base of the sociocultural sphere in previous years.

The per capita housing allocation in the republic totals 13.2 square meters against a national average of 15.2 square meters. At the same time not all local soviets of people's deputies are coping with the state plan for housing construction. As a whole, local soviet ispolkoms fulfilled only 90 percent of the plan for the commissioning of housing. Territorial program targets for the provision of housing have not been met in Karaganda, Uralsk, Turgay, East Kazakhstan, and a number of other oblasts.

Plans for the modernization and repairs of existing housing stock and the provision of better amenities have not been met. Slow progress in rehousing some 600,000 citizens living in dilapidated or defective housing is causing concern. The targets for the demolition of this kind of housing are not being met. At the present pace this work will not be completed by the year 2000.

In many oblasts insufficient attention is being paid during the selection of housing designs to the size of families awaiting improved housing conditions. The housing conditions of workers in education, health care, culture, trade, and consumer services are improving extremely slowly. In a number of oblasts their requirements were not even taken into account when programs were being drafted.

The allocation of housing and the registration of citizens on the waiting list for better housing is frequently carried out in violation of legislative requirements. Last year cases of this kind were exposed at one in five of the enterprises checked.

There are 25 percent fewer polyclinics than prescribed by the norm. Many health care establishments are located in dilapidated or poorly adapted premises. The demand for children's preschool establishments has not been met.

There are not enough general education schools in the republic. At more than half of them instruction takes place in 2-3 shifts. One-fourth of the schools are in need of capital repairs or even due for demolition. There are not enough cultural and educational establishments and sports facilities.

Over two years a total of R120 million of state capital investments was not utilized in the construction of general education schools, vocational and technical educational establishments, preschool establishments, hospitals and polyclinics, clubs, and cultural centers.

There are major complaints about the prevailing sanitary situation in population centers. In some cities water is supplied on the basis of a timetable. Environmental pollution by industrial waste is high. Ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and chemical industry enterprises frequently exceed considerably the limits of the permitted emission of pollutants into the atmosphere.

The "Zhilye-91" program does not make comprehensive provision for the coordination of housing development and the provision of public utilities and necessary cultural and consumer services for the population. In this context there is no provision for implementing an integrated urban planning policy or the comprehensive development of residential areas and their provision with all the necessary amenities. At population centers due attention is not being paid to intensifying the expressiveness of architecture and taking account of national customs and traditions in the construction of new residential districts. Single-client services, which account for a little over half of the commissioned housing in cities where these services have been set up, are failing to play a leading role in this sphere. Design-and-construction associations have so far not gotten off the ground. Means allocated for the construction of public utilities have not been assimilated for a number of years in succession. Construction periods are dragging on and on.

Higher demands must be made on the relevant services and state acceptance commissions responsible for the quality of the projects being commissioned. In many of the inspected residential blocks, kindergartens, schools, and stores in Alma-Ata and cities and villages in Dzhambul, Kustanay, and Pavlodar Oblasts it was established that the quality of finishing work is low, heating and ventilation systems are not functioning well, and sometimes the requisite equipment is lacking.

The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and the republic's local soviets of people's deputies and their ispolkoms must, taking account of available positive experience and ensuring the strict observance of the principles of social justice, seek to further improve the organization of housing and sociocultural construction, consistently implement the policy aimed at providing every family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000, and ensure the comprehensive development of the entire social sphere. To this end it is necessary within the shortest possible time to complete and approve a relevant program based on the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress.

In developing the social sphere's material base it is necessary to strive for the steady fulfillment of the set plans and for drawing up, as soon as possible, scientifically substantiated normatives for the provision of the population with housing, schools, and medical, cultural, educational, and other nonproduction establishments.

It is necessary to formulate and implement specific measures to ensure that the problem of the full satisfaction of the population's requirements for children's preschool establishments is resolved by the end of the current 5-year period.

It is necessary to ensure the preservation, proper maintenance, and timely repairs of buildings, installations, and equipment and the high reliability of water supply, sewerage, and heat supply networks and other utilities. It is necessary to prepare housing and municipal services, children's establishments, schools, hospitals, and other social sphere facilities for work in winter conditions in good time and to a good standard. And it is necessary to resolve questions pertaining to the organization of timely capital repairs of the cooperative housing stock.

Measures to accelerate citizens' resettlement from dilapidated and defective accommodation and the elimination of this accommodation should be specified in conjunction with the appropriate ministries and departments.

The republic's soviet and economic organs should exerise greater energy in mobilizing the efforts and resources of enterprises, organizations, and the population to speed up the resolution of the housing problem.

Measures must be adopted to further strengthen and develop construction by means of the contract method. Wider use should also be made of the direct labor method in the construction of social sphere projects.

Local ispolkoms and construction organizations must pay more attention to the development of housing construction cooperatives. Last year the plan for the commissioning of cooperative housing was only 83 percent fulfilled. Just over 4,500 apartments were commissioned, whereas 29,000 families are waiting for housing to be provided by housing construction cooperatives. In addition, many more families have expressed the desire to join a housing construction cooperative.

Individual housing construction, the proportion of which in the republic is 33 percent lower than in the country as a whole, must be developed in every way. It is necessary to radically improve the trade in timber and construction materials and their delivery to clients, since at present these requirements are largely not met.

The initiative of Komsomol organizations aimed at the construction of housing complexes for young people must be persistently developed and supported in every way, since it represents a considerable reserve for satisfying young people's housing, cultural, and consumer requirements and is an effective means of influencing their labor education and enhancing their social activeness and degree of organization.

In view of the need to provide the increasing volume of housing and sociocultural construction with the necessary material and technical resources the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to carry out a detailed analysis with the aim of identifying and bringing into play all opportunities for increasing these resources, making use for this purpose of the republic's powerful production potential. Here it is necessary to take steps to ensure the considerably expanded utilization of local construction materials and secondary resources.

Together with the relevant USSR ministries and departments it is necessary to adopt specific measures to consolidate, reconstruct, and update the industrial base of housing construction and construction materials industry enterprises, ensure improved utilization of their capacities, and enhance output quality and the degree of commodities' factory readiness. It is necessary to expand the construction of large-panel residential houses whose share in the overall volume of commissioned housing is at present 33 percent below the directive target.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has noted the serious shortcomings which exist in the organization of the labor and daily life of construction workers working on social sphere projects. More than half of them are doing manual labor and labor safety regulations are frequently ignored. Team economic accountability [brigadnyy khozraschet] is frequently introduced only formally. The organization of cadre training and retraining is poor.

As a rule construction sites lack the necessary service facilities. Virtually no hot food is available for people working on the second or third shift.

The republic's economic, soviet, and trade union organs must adopt specific measures to ensure normal production and living conditions for construction workers and construction materials industry workers. They must improve and involve all workers in the system enabling them to improve their skills and acquire economic knowledge.

The USSR Gosplan and interested organs are instructed to assist the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers in the accelerated solution of the question of establishing timber procurement enterprises in timber-producing areas of Siberia with the aim of meeting the requirements for commercial timber and joinery materials levied by the program for housing and sociocultural construction in the republic.

MVD Aide on Combatting 'Speculators'

PM1005074788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 88 p 2

[Interview with M.K. Yegorov, department chief in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, by observer P. Voshchanov under the rubric "Social Portrait of a Phenomenon": "Speculation"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A letter arrived at the editorial office. Its author, a worker at a Ryazan plant, writes: "A great deal is being said at the moment about abuses committed in our economic life and in the economy in the recent past. What has changed today? It would be interesting to know, for example, whether life is more difficult for 'black' market traders. Judging by the speculators, it would appear that everything has changed for the better as far as they are concerned. They feel in fine shape among the crowds of cooperative workers and individual operators. All the transactions that used to be carried out furtively, in dark doorways, are now carried out in full view of everyone. And recently, on the radio, not ours, unfortunately, I heard that there is also a 'shady' economy in the USSR. Where is it? Who created it? How is it being combatted or are people trying to ignore it as well?"

There's a letter for you. There are others posing similar questions. This is the subject of our observer P. Voshchanov's conversation with M.K. Yegorov, department chief in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation.

[Voshchanov] Mikhail Konstantinovich, I confess that I too first heard about the "shady" market in the USSR from foreign sources. Although it was 10 years or so ago. But the impression is that it remains a "lacuna" as far as we are concerned. The other day I looked through all the central economic journals for the past two years. Not a single item on the subject. Ignorance? Or the old habit of failing to notice the sick areas of the economy?

[Yegorov] You want to give our conversation an economic bias? OK. The "shady" market is a multifaceted phenomenon. It involves "under-the-counter" trading, speculation in scarce items obtained through bribes, and the selling of stolen goods. But each nuance of the "shady" market is directly associated with the state of the economy. Essentially, it is beyond the power of the police to cure this disease. They are operating when the organism can no longer cope. Speculation in scarce goods will not disappear until the economy has overcome the shortages.

[Voshchanov] Even historical experience suggests this. In 1923 the country's population was acquiring around half of its bread on the "black" market. Now it would never occur to any normal person to buy bread for resale.

[Yegorov] Of course. Whenever a gap appears a speculator will immediately leap in. He is dynamic and moves rapidly about the country. Incidentally, he reads the papers closely to find out what is in short supply where. Often he has informants in other cities. For a consideration, they report what is very expensive at the moment and the scarce goods that can be procured.

[Voshchanov] It would not do our trade organizations any harm to learn from this efficiency. Your clients think about the purchaser, albeit not without self-interest. Ultimately, the state trade network's indifference to the consumer plays into the speculator's hands. Here is a USSR State Committee for Statistics report we obtained quite recently: Targets for the sale of construction materials and timber to the population regularly fail to be implemented. Which means people are forced to employ the services of private traders who either steal materials from plants and construction sites or obtain them "under the counter" from people in the trade. The tidy sum of R400 million ends up in speculators' pockets every year.

[Yegorov] And what is the result of Potrebsoyuz organizations' sluggishness? Here is one example. A certain Magomadov bought up 35 tonnes of onions and melons at the food store on the "Avangard" Sovkhoz in Naurskiy Rayon, Chechen-Ingushetia, and then resold them to the Novgorod city cooperative trade organization, using forged documents. The "operation" cleared R13,000. But it never occurred to the two cooperative organizations to agree between themselves to provide the population with fresh fruit and vegetables. How has the "shady" market reacted? It has stepped up its activities. This is indicated by the mere fact that the number of crimes detected by services of the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation [BKHSS] has increased. In the past five years cases of speculation alone have increased by almost one-third. Although court and police statistics reflect only the cases essentially where the law has stepped in.

[Voshchanov] How much goes undetected, then?! Expert assessments by some specialists give one an idea of the scale of the "shady" market. In some parts of the country up to 15 percent of all clothes and footwear is obtained from speculators. Around one-fourth of goods for children and young people are bought from them. I also came across the following figures: In the central Asian and Transcaucasian republics around one-third of all imported goods are obtained by paying a premium to someone in the trade.

[Yegorov] One could argue about these figures, of course. They are somewhat high, and they do not reflect certain aspects of the "shady" market.... But, unfortunately, this phenomenon in our economic life is not being examined meticulously enough. And some of your colleagues think anyway that it is a problem of the past. The new economic mechanism will get rid of the "shady" market, they say. But trade in Belorussia, Latvia, and Estonia, for example, operated in the new way the whole of last year, but the number of thefts involving exploitation of an official position has not diminished.

[Yegorov] Let us wait for the time when not only trade, but the entire economy is operating in the new conditions. Without that, what results can one expect? It is like admitting only dark-haired people to schools and then complaining about the lack of universal literacy. And were they actually "working in the new way?" Essentially, they had introduced only certain elements of economic accountability, the old economic mechanism remaining intact. Labor collective self-management and workers' control are bound to play their part and there will be fewer pilferers and thieves. But at the moment the "shady" market is very big. One can assume that that it is no longer a crudely organized "individual activity" involving a scattered group of speculators, but, in fact, a case of organized crime. Is this true?

[Yegorov] To some extent, yes. Society overlooked the problem in the "stagnation years." More attention was paid to the gudgeon, meanwhile the pike, enjoying the patronage of influential personages, grew fat in the mud, huddling together in shoals. Today the speculators are more often than not just the bricks in the foundations of a whole pyramid of organized crime.

[Voshchanov] Who is the key figure, then? Where does the initiative for organizing "business" come from?

[Yegorov] More often than not from people close to commodity channels, with access to scarce items. Citizens who have certain privileges in terms of the acquisition of goods and exploit them for profit are also involved. These are the central components. And they seek support from above and assistance from below. A criminal group was uncovered in Voronezh Oblast. It comprised people working at the oblast trade admninistration, city industrial goods trade organizations, city food trade organizations, and stores. Criminal action was taken against 77 people, including 55 managers. But who was the top man? Oblast trade adminmistration chief Desyatirikov himself. Theft, bribery, extortion—they were the norm in Voronezh trade. Security was provided by 10 inspectors involved in the machinations and willing to conceal any economic crime. In terms of the number of people involved the group was on a par with the groups that had previously been uncovered in the Moscow and Rostov trade systems. Another similar group was uncovered in Georgia. It was operating in the republican Potrebsoyuz system. Scarce goods, most of them obtained in exchange for exports of agricultural products, were distributed among stores for a substantial sum: If you want it, you'll have to pay a 20 percent premium! Nothing ever appeared on the counter, of course. Nearly all of it was kept in the sellers' apartments. It too was sold at speculative prices. Some 13 people were convicted in the case. They included Maksimov, former first deputy chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz All-Union "Soyuzkoopvneshtorg" Association, and Kvitsiani, former chief of the Georgian Potrebsoyuz export-import administration.

[Voshchanov] No doubt it all began innocently. Flowers for the wife, fruit for the children...

[Yegorov] But self-interest is the name of the game on the "shady" market. He accepts a "souvenir" worth R5 today, tommorow it is R100, then it is R1,000. And then—what about something in return! Sign something, turn a blind eye to something. This is one of the "laws" of the "shady" market.

[Voshchanov] The papers have been writing a great deal of late about major economic crimes in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and the Transcaucasian republics. And you have talked about a crime that was uncovered in Georgia. The impression is that the main centers of the "shady" market are in the southern regions. What is, in fact, the geographical spread of the phenomenon?

[Yegorov] As for the "main centers," I cannot agree with what you say. They appear wherever there is a shortage of goods, north or south, it doesn't matter. But there are centers for buying up scarce goods: Moscow, Leningrad, the Baltic are the capitals of the union republics, ports, and border cities. The main threads extend from these places. But, on the subject of the geography of the "shady" market, I want to say that the uneven distribution of scarce goods in the country contributes to the market's existence. Today, for example, the inhabitants of Transcaucasia obtain 64 percent of their goods outside their republics and in the case of central Asia the figure is 52 percent. Siberians and Far Easterners buy one-third of their clothes and footwear during vacations, again outside their regions. For "shady" market traders these supply problems are a gold mine.

[Voshchanov] So, to be frank, the speculator is well armed. In one hand he has a goods shortage and in the other he has the trade's lack of interest in satisfying people's needs. A regular knuckleduster and revolver situation! He is deadly... But the question arises: Speculation—it's a crime, isn't it? Or, while admittedly illegal, merely commerce, in the interests of the consumer, what is more?

[Yegorov] There are many facts linking the criminal world to the speculators. A group of criminals headed by the three Vasilyev brothers was uncovered in Leningrad. Young, healthy guys. Masters of sport, boxing in their case. At first they got by on petty speculation, then they decided to "work" in the big time. The idea of setting up a group occurred to them. There were 11 people in it. They started appearing near large general stores and at the kind of markets that appear spontaneously. They would pass themselves off as an "informal association to combat speculation." They would chase away any traders who were operating alone, beat them up, and take their things. Then they would sell it all at a profit to wholesalers. As you can see, a whole bundle of crimes—robbery included.

[Voshchanov] What if you were to try to draw a picture of the "statistically average" speculator?

[Yegorov] Around half of the speculators are workers by profession. Approximately 18 percent are employees. Kolkhoz members constitute the smallest number—a little over three percent. But the most worrying thing is that the "shady" market has gotten much younger in recent years. Today one in three people in it is under 30. There were one-third fewer five years ago. There is an increasing number of speculators aged 16-17. That is something for the Komsomol to think about! Incidentally, the number of Komsomol members called to account for machinations involving scarce goods has increased by 50 percent over the five years. But that is one side of the coin. Why not ask about the other side—the "average customer"?

[Voshchanov] Fair comment. I am asking now.

[Yegorov] Of course, people are not drawn to speculators for essential goods—it is the desire to have prestige goods, if I can call them that: Imported radio sets and video equipment, imported furniture and cars, imported clothes, underwear, footwear, and gastronomic delicacies. The traders are now increasingly beginning to work "to order." There is now a specific category of people who regularly employ the services of "their" speculator.

[Voshchanov] But I think it is not just the desire to obtain a classier commodity that draws us to speculators. One reads letters to the editor and one is amazed: People are unable to buy the most basic things—towels, toothpaste, a vacuum cleaner. You will agree that these are by no stretch of the imagination prestige items.... Here is an example I came across myself: Once I flew to Tashkent on an assignment and took some soap to a colleague. For some reason it had disappeared from stores throughout the republic. Then I saw some at the market, but each bar was three times as expensive. Who had informed the speculator that there was going to be a shortage? If he had not had the information would it ever have entered his head to buy up that commodity? You talk about links between the criminal world and the speculators. I would like to ask about the "contacts" between trade managerial personnel and the speculators. Isn't this sometimes the reason why totally unforeseen shortages occur?

[Yegorov] Well, unfortunately, that is not a rarity either. But you will agree that such shortages are more or less temporary. Therefore, speculation in the kind of ordinary goods you have just enumerated is not of the nature of organized crime. I am talking about steady demand for and steady shortages of "prestige" goods.

[Voshchanov] There is yet another aspoect of the problem that bothers many of our readers. I am talking about the widespread "alcohol" business.

[Yegorov] Indeed, the scale of liquor speculation has increased by 150 percent over the past two years. Alcohol now accounts for around one-third of "black" market turnover. People working in the trade often contribute to this. A selective check carried out last year revealed that stores had hidden away liquor worth more than R1.5 million in Moscow alone.

[Voshchanov] You are encountering organized business here too?

[Yegorov] It depends what you mean by organization. You have a deal involving at least two parties. They are the trade worker and the speculator himself. There is a "river" of alcohol flowing through the backrooms of stores. Last year ten percent of the people prosecuted for reselling liquor were trade workers. Some traders are making vast fortunes speculating in wine and vodka. Money and valuables worth over R110,000 were confiscated from a Lvov woman called Korkh, who was being prosecuted for involvement in the "alcohol" business. Babinets, a crane driver from the "Mezhkolkhozstroy" association in Chernigov, had been buying up and reselling enormous quantities of liquor. During the search they confiscated savings bank books alone worth R47,000.... Incidentally, this phenomenon also has economic roots. The measures to limit the production and sale of liquor has left the population with R35 billion to spare. Quality goods and new services should have been made available. But nothing happened. The money just sat there. Which is where the speculator came in, taking advantage of the distorted shape of demand. It was assumed that the cooperative workers would help solve the problem....

[Voshchanov] But in some letters readers sharply criticize the organization of trade in products from cooperatives and the individual sector. A frequent comment is: They have bred speculators! What are the police doing about it?

[Yegorov] Organizing the sale of products in this sector of the economy is definitely the number one problem at the moment. Today, alas, life iself often pushes cooperative workers into the arms of the speculator and dealer. We are coming across such instances now. Someone called Shchekoldina went to individual producers in Stavropol Kray and bought up some articles filled with down, mailed them to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, and sold them on the market there. A dozen savings books worth over R60,000 and R20,000 in cash were found in her possession....

[Voshchanov] ...And the inhabitants of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk were deprived of their last chance to obtain warm articles filled with down. I am looking at the problem from the position of the draft Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR," currently being discussed. In my view, it ought to clearly indicate the advisability of setting up an extensive network of trade agency cooperatives. They are essential. In fact, these services actually exist today, but all the income is going into the pockets of people buying goods for resale. The speculator raises the price even more as a risk premium.

[Yegorov] When the Law on Cooperatives comes into force maybe the problem will solved in precisely that way.

But yet another problem has cropped up in the cooperative sector, one which the speculators are currently taking advantage of—material supplies. At the moment cooperatives hardly participate at all in creating their own raw material base. For example, most cooperative cafes do not have stable economic links with people in the countryside, with kolkhozes, with fruit-growing associations. We have already seen instances of illegal dealing in flour, meat, fabrics, and construction materials involving cooperative workers. Why do Gossnab bodies ignore the problem? Life itself suggests that more special bases and stores must be opened for cooperative workers and individual producers. They might trade first and foremost in rejects from state enterprises and nondisposable items. Everyone would benefit. And, of course, the setting up of special cooperatives to procure and process raw material is one way of solving this problem. At the moment cooperatives of this type are exceedingly few and far between. And another thing. One must consider how to established a "most favored status" for cooperatives which are beginning to produce goods which are in increased demand and which are prey to the speculators at the moment. Now that would be a real blow to the "shady" market!

Sverdlovsk Detainee Confesses to Sex Murders

PM1105112788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 May 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent D. Usachev: "Investigation Over"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—At approximately 1300 on 25 April, following his dinner break, Internal Service Senior Lieutenant Ye. Mordvyanik was returning across the territory of Sverdlovsk's Central Park of Culture and Rest when he witnessed a scene which put him on his guard. Some way off, behind the trees, a man was dragging someone away from the path. His first reaction was that it was one drunk dragging another, but something seemed unnatural....

Then Ye. Mordvyanik acted in a manner which was subsequently deemed professionally correct. He was out of uniform and unarmed, there was not a soul about, and there was no point in reckless bravery. The officer ran over to the nearby road, stopped a "Uazik" car, and asked the driver for assistance. The unknown man was arrested near a young woman who had been strangled and whose body he was trying to hide.

For several successive years, and always in early spring, the people of Sverdlovsk have been shaken by amazingly similar, tragic news items. At roughly the same time and, during the first years, in practically the same spot, yet another body of a young woman or even a schoolgirl, strangled and defiled, had been found. The crimes were committed with incredible methodicalness. Can we hope that there will be no more of them?

"During the very first interrogation," V.V. Bryzgalov, legal counsellor and chief of the Investigation Section of Sverdlovsk Oblast Prosecutor's Office, said, "detainee F. made a statement confessing to some murders in past years, which he committed with sexual motives. So far, everything coincides, even in the details. Material evidence has also been taken which attests to the suspect's direct involvement in the murders."

Militia Colonel L.I. Shuklin, chief of the Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Criminal Investigation Administration, informed your correspondent that the court expert psychiatric panel has not yet given its conclusion.

L.I. Shuklin replied in the affirmative when asked whether all the crimes to which F. confesses had until now not been cleared up. The chief of the Criminal Investigation Administration also declared that other persons have not been punished for these cases.

Tougher Antiprostitution Measures Urged

PM1005124188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
4 May 88 p 4

[Article by Yu. Glants under the "Acute Problem" rubric: "Nocturnal Excursions"]

[Text] The ambulance is parked at the junction between the station, the "Kavkaz" restaurant, and the "Latsitis" cafe. We are in no hurry to get out as no one has yet dialed the 03 emergency number. However, it will soon become clear that someone was already in need of medical help... But I shall not keep the reader in suspense: This time the people in the vehicle were not doctors but militia staffers. To be more precise, staffers from the special subunit for combating prostitution and venereal disease.

The first "clients" came along. Some girls approach two short, dark-haired men loitering in the entrance to the cafe. There is a brief conversation and the group goes inside. There, in the basement the students from the trade vocational and technical college were going to sell their "love" at a giveaway price.

This time, though, they will be accompanying us to the militia station.

It was with raids on cafes and restaurants that the new subunit of the Riga Internal Affairs Administration, set up last fall, began its work. The women who went to those establishments looking for "work" were easy to spot. For the first time prostitutes are being registered in the city as a preventive measure. It is still too soon to talk about a campaign against this social vice, but the first steps have already been taken.

Here is one of the results: Of the 180 women examined in the past few months, 38 were found to be suffering from VD. AIDS does not feature on the graph yet. But it is clear that this fortunate state of affairs is only temporary. Riga, by virtue of its geographical location, is so to speak a gateway for this deadly virus. Prostitutes are considered a high-risk group, although none of those with whom I talked was seriously worried by the threat of infection. None of them believed that their "excursion" could be fatal.

"Who thinks about that?" said Iveta with a shrug of the shoulders when she was arrested in a foreigner's hotel room. "If you catch something you cure yourself."

The girl isn't joking. Some prostitutes have jobs as orderlies at medical institutions, they get drugs there, and learn how to treat VD. They think they can cope with the new virus in the same way. Furthermore, many of them live according to the "logic": Why worry about the future when you can be "making money" right now?...

Among the prostitutes in Riga there are women of various ages, locals as well as newcomers, with incomplete secondary and higher education. Some are married and have children. Some have a job or are students. However, this is, so to speak, the "middle class" of this shameful profession. The "dregs" and the "elite" do not work anywhere.

As is often the case, it is the extremes which you notice. Not much is known about the average and most numerous group of women of easy virtue. It is another matter with the "dregs"—until comparatively recently stations and markets where the places you could often meet these wretched, haggard women ready to go with anyone for the price of a drink. Now their numbers have fallen considerably. But the ranks of the so-called "elite" who provide services to foreigners have not diminished.

The methods employed by the "sex business" are not subtle. Novices grab men by the hand in city centers or in hotels or cozy up to them in restaurants. Experienced prostitutes have a permanent circle of clients. Some of these professionals even try to ham it up when journalists interview them as part of an expose on the origins of vice. However, it is futile expecting the truth from such women. Irina, for instance, who has long been plying her trade in an Inturist hotel, is clearly not averse to playing down the degrading nature of her profession:

"I don't do it just for the monney. I simply like all (!) these men. They are cultivated people, I like meeting them...."

The younger ones are far more candid about it. A 19-year-old secondary-school-educated Komsomol member told me:

"A friend called me and said that she had met a foreigner who had a friend. I went to the hotel. He was a Finnish lumberjack or something, I don't know, not very old, but so drunk his hands were shaking. You had to light his cigarette for him. The rest you can imagine. By the way, I don't consider myself a prostitute but I don't condemn the others, either. How you live is your own personal matter. Generally speaking many people here are trying to make our country like the West. What is happening there now will happen here in the future. Of course the first time you feel sick. But since I had made up my mind to start I had to suppress that feeling. By the way if you go with Soviets you have to make sure that they are businessmen. I once had a worker—a decent man, of course, good looking, but he only took me to the cafe once. After that it was the movies all the time.... My mother is a forewoman at a plant, my father is a driver. They have been working all their lives but they haven't got a car. They just keep on saying: You have to lead an honest life if you want a clear conscience."

It is tempting to interrupt revelations of this sort by saying: "Well, there's always one rotten egg!" It is not a fit theme "for publication." You can probably ease your conscience by blaming the relapses of the period of stagnation. I think, however, that it is time for us to look not only to the past but also to the future. To look not only for the causes of the affliction but also for ways to put an end to it. Society must defend its social and moral values. Evil is always active, and that is why it gains new ground unless it is checked.

That is why we must now recognize that a paradoxical situation has been created on prostitution. We know, for example, that according to the 1897 census figures there were 14,991 full-time prostitutes in Russia. We guess at how many women are engaged in this activity in the United States nowadays. However, there are no statistics, even approximate ones, to provide a picture of the situation here today. The situation is hardly any better in other cities in the country. And after all, prostitution exists in places where foreigners have never been.

Furthermore, in prerevolutionary Russia prostitutes had limited civil rights. You don't put on airs and graces when you've got a yellow identity card instead of a passport. Life today is not very pleasant for prostitutes in the West, either. If their activity is prohibited they can be imprisoned or fined large amounts, and where it is allowed they pay a considerable tax.

But what happens here? A society which on ideological and moral grounds utterly rejects prostitution involuntarily creates for it a system which almost encourages it. The Soviet "demi-mondaine" is often beyond society's reach. And because prostitution goes unpunished and is not held in contempt it actively "becomes established." Matters have gone so far that when senior schoolchildren discuss who "earns" most of all they treat prostitution as legitimate because they reckon that the prostitute can earn more than the representatives of "labor" professions....

Such is the seamy side of life. Of course, it is easier to pretend that you do not notice or believe such things: It's all a load of gossip. However, since the press has torn down the wall of silence, people can no longer plead ignorance of the facts or disbelief. So why have the reports on this theme caused many readers this sense of dissatisfaction? Can it just be because of the shock effect?

The real reason lies elswehere: People are still not sure that the problem can be completely resolved.

The problem is not only the absence in the Criminal Code of an article penalizing this shameful profession. Ultimately it has always been possible to prosecute women of easy virtue under the law as it stands: for parasitism, vagrancy, keeping a disorderly house, pimping, spreading venereal disease, and violating the rules on currency dealings. Specialists know about all this. But they have enough to do preventing and detecting crimes which they think are a greater danger to society and which often are. Perhaps that is why the article of the law on prostitution which was added to the Administrative Code last summer is not "working." Of course, the R100 fine is ludicrous for someone who can earn that amount in a single night. But this is the only opportunity there is to tell such a woman what she really is!

I think that the present campaign against prostitution will not really get off the ground until a special militia formation is set up for that very purpose. The Riga special subunit which I described at the beginning of this article is just a prototype of a proper "vice squad." Unless it is staffed with experienced operators it will not be able to go further than the gathering of information. Of course, this is having a positive effect right now and promises even more in the future. But in present conditions more radical measures are needed. Prostitution must be made UNPROFITABLE AND DANGEROUS [capitalization as published]. If a militia formation is set up which is responsible solely for this group of people, we will be able to talk seriously about a whole series of innovations. For example, about a special register of people whose speciality is selling their body. If that does not rectify matters criminal penalties will be necessary....

It is also expedient to talk about the criminal liability of men who use the services of prostitutes. Foreigners are not exempt here. Incidentally, at the moment they do not consider it reprehensible to buy a woman and even run to complain if she wrongs them. For example, there was the case of a man called Reije whose wallet containing 600 markkaa was taken by a Rigan woman he had met. He immediately made a statement to the militia: "I estimate the services I received at 200 marks, and I want my change...."

Prostitution must be combated at a professional level right now without waiting for AIDS to leap across our border. When dealing with not only the moral but also the physical health of the nation it is naive to suppose that, unlike everybody else, we will be able to control this by "educational work" alone.

Supreme Soviet Can Vent National Pride

PM1005155988 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 17 Apr 88 p 12

[Interview with Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Lionginas Shepetis: "The Soviet of Nationalities"; date and place not given]

[Text] How should the restructuring of our political system be carried out?—this is one of the key questions which the 19th party conference will have to answer. The soviets of people's deputies will naturally be central to this effort. As Mikhail Gorbachev said at the February 1988 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, it will be necessary:

To take account in the soviets of the country's diversity, including its national peculiarities;

To assess the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a view to improving its efficiency.

Improving the efficiency of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet was the subject of a recent discussion between Lionginas Shepetis, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Lithuania and deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and MN political analyist Dmitriy Kazutin.

D.K.: Perestroyka habitually draws upon the two-in-one formula—radical economic reform with deep and all-round democratization of social life. But there's also the problem of nationalities or, to be more correct, the problem of intra-national relations. This problem is acute and bears on the problems of renewal. Would you agree?

L.S.: Absolutely. I would only emphasize the connection of this problem with the democratization process. This connection was pointed out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his report on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Democratization inevitably throws light on all of our problems, including difficult and painful ones. To a considerable extent it is we who have made them difficult. Here's a bitter paradox: we materialist dialecticians who admit in theory the priority of social being vis-a-vis social consciousness, in practice often closed our eyes to whole layers of this being. Every one of us knew there were complexities and difficulties in intra-national relations. But we believed that once the national problem had been solved in principle, it had been solved in fact. Serious problems in this sphere did not and could not exist. We didn't want to see them, but that didn't make the problems go away. On the contrary, kept inside, they only became more complicated. Democratization and glasnost "discovered" them. And if we are now convinced that a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee should be devoted to questions about our nationalities policy, it means that these questions are sufficiently important and relevant.

K.K.: Those who have been thrown into mental disarray by perestroyka claim that democratization is to "blame" for the acuteness of certain national problems today.

L.S.: This is either folly or a clumsy attempt to discredit perestroyka. If a surgeon opens up an abscess, is he to blame for the cause of the abscess?

D.K.: In the Report "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR" delivered in 1936, Joseph Stalin, rejecting the idea of a single-chamber USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "We have a supreme body which represents the common interests of all working people of the USSR irrespective of nationality. This is the Soviet of the Union. But in addition to common interests, the nationalities of the USSR have their particular, specific interests, connected with their specific national characteristics. Can these specific interests be ignored? No, they cannot. Do we need a special supreme body to reflect precisely these specific interests? Unquestionably, we do. There can be no doubt that without such a body it would be impossible to administer a multinational state like the USSR."

This is a sound thought. Although, for justice's sake, let us say that it is Stalin that tied the knots on some of the most acute problems of our intra-national relations. But what I want to ask is different. You are a deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities. Can you tell me how effective this chamber is in fulfilling its specific functions?

L.S.: This is a difficult question precisely because it is put to a deputy of this chamber. But we have just said that difficult questions mustn't be ignored. Honestly, I don't see a big or fundamental difference in the activities of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet. Our sessions have a common agenda, and the work of the preparatory commissions, set up before the sessions, proceeds under a single programme. There may be some differences in the work of the standing commissions, but I can't say anything about this because I've never compared them.

D.K.: Tell me—when your electors come to you, do they remember that you are a deputy precisely to the Soviet of Nationalities and not to the Soviet of the Union?

L.S.: Probably not. The status, duties and rights of a deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities do not differ from those of a deputy to the Soviet of the Union. Stalin took great care so that both chambers would be equal. This equality is in evidence. But given today's uniformity of the chambers, it is hard to express the specific interests of the electorate. I'm beginning to think that the Constitution of 1977, regrettably, has not changed anything in this respect. But I believe the Soviet of Nationalities could do a lot to combine the national pride and national dignity of every people with the internationalism of socialist society. The importance of doing this was underscored by the general secretary of the Central Committee at its February plenary meeting.

D.K.: I may be wrong but I think that if one of the Soviet of Nationalities' standing commissions had promptly and openly tackled one or another problem of intra-national relations besetting us today, it might have been solved long ago.

L.S.: I can't judge whether they would have been solved, but at least they wouldn't have splashed out "into the street." They would have been dealt with more calmly: studied, discussed and analyzed. Glasnost is a good remedy against exacerbation of the problem, and against extremism.

D.K.: About extremism. Leaving aside attempts to fan it up from abroad, what internal sources do you think fuel extremist sentiments?

L.S.: First, the word "extremism" should not be used lightly. Not every demonstration or rally is a sign of extremism. Extremists differ: in social standing, political sympathies and personal fates. But one thing, I believe, unites them: unlike other people, they care less about an effective solution to problems of intra-national relations than about satisfying their personal political ambitions. They include people "offended" by the Soviet system. Soviet rule was reestablished in Lithuania in 1940 and consolidated after the expulsion of the Nazis in 1944. There are still people who prospered in bourgeois Lithuania and for whom Soviet power is synonymous with injustice. They have been joined by some of the nationalistic-minded Catholic clergy (in general highly politicized). They see themselves as the true guardians of national traditions. Extremists also include nihilists, many of whom we created ourselves. We did this by not telling the truth and concealing facts. But they learned the truth anyway—not from us. We did not teach Lithuania's history properly. Thus "historical samizdat" enjoyed a certain success. Concealing the truth or telling half-truths made these people suspicious of us. Lastly, extremists include those who idealize the past. Both the distant past and the recent, bourgeois, past. This idealization in many respects is also the result of flaws in our ideological work. The consequences of these flaws cannot be rectified overnight, but we've already begun the process.

D.K.: The concepts of "nationalism" and "internationalism" have always been historically concrete in content. What aspect of the internationalist world view do you see as most important today?

L.s.: The answer may seem odd, even paradoxical: national pride and even national responsibility. In the sphere of material production this means the honour of the trademark, the quality of the work. Bad TV sets or shoddy footwear make people prejudiced against the manufacturers. And prejudice has a lot to do with the emergence of intra-national friction. The same question of quality exists in the cultural sphere. When I was Lithuania's minister of culture I insisted on the criterion of all-union recognition in appraising works of literature, music, plays and films. National ornament, in the broad sense of the term, is not yet national art in its modern understanding. But the artist Chiurlionis is profoundly national and highly internationalist. The same can be said about the finest works of Lithuanian Soviet literature, Lithuanian theatre and Lithuanian cinema. Internationalism in the intellectual sphere boils down to the significance of each people's contribution to all-union and even world culture.

Miner Questions Compulsory Holiday Working

PM1105111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 May 88 First Edition p 3

[Letter from miner A. Petrachenko under the "Letters to PRAVDA" rubric and general heading "Thoughts About a Most Vital Matter": "'In Agreement With...'"]

[Text] In the coal industry we have long been required to work on holidays. The Donetsk mines also worked over last year's holidays—8 March, 9 May, and 7 October. They were on the point of organizing mining on the days of the October jubilee as well but at the last moment the order came to knock off.

When work is organized on holidays the enterprises usually receive a telephone telegram from the Ministry of the Coal Industry. Its gist is as follows: In connection with the fuel difficulties in the country, organize mining on holidays. Double time will be paid. And there is a note to the effect that work on holidays has been agreed with the AUCCTU.

On each occasion the ministry and the miners' central trade union organ act as ringleaders in this delicate matter. Is that right?

[signed] A. Petrachenko, miner, Donetsk.

Nuclear Industry Worker on New Wage Structure

PM1205142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Letter from power industry worker B. Ivanov under the "Letter to PRAVDA" rubric: "In Whose Interests?"]

[Text] The Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation has introduced a new wage scale. The basic idea behind it is incomprehensible to me, for example.

A shift chief in a shop now earns more than his instructors and leaders. And yet who is it who lays down technical policy and is responsible for the safe operation of the AES? The shop leaders and chief specialists. But, if you judge by salaries, shop chiefs are now the kingpins. Only the station director and chief engineer have a slight edge over them in terms of pay. This is an absurdity whose introduction, in my view, deprives shift chiefs of any incentive for professional advancement. Nor will it enhance the standing of the AES chief or those near him on the career ladder.

However, the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation administration for labor organization, wages, and social development is clearly of a different mind. There they think that if a salary is low, it has to be compensated for by supplements and bonuses. If, on the other hand, a salary is quite high but the bonus is small, then it is recommended that those responsible for serious errors in work be immediately demoted. A complicated calculation, but is it not rash?

And what about the bulk of the personnel directly concerned with ensuring the safety and reliability of AES work? Personnel working shifts already receive a high salary, and to "equalize" things, their bonus will have to be reduced. But it is precisely in these very important areas that the importance of the bonus should, on the contrary, be enhanced.

It is appropriate to recall here that an effective system of incentives based on the length of trouble-free work has existed in the power industry since 1939. In 1959, salaries were increased, and bonuses determined by end results were reduced. This was done under the slogan of increased "awareness." The annual number of accidents due to personnel errors then doubled.

Why does the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation not take full account of the specific features of the sector?

What has been the effect of introducing the new system of labor remuneration on areas which have a direct bearing on AES safety and reliability? The bonus as a proportion of guaranteed wages has fallen markedly for the leading trades. For a turbine operator, for example, it has fallen from R112 to R77. The bonus as a proportion of overall earnings has fallen 60 to 20 percent.

Is this not a retreat from economic management methods? This erects obvious barriers to upgrading of cadres' skills and increased safety and reliability. Will the most able young power workers seek to become leaders?

Let us now look at incentives from a different angle. Our Beloyarskiy AES is an experimental industrial enterprise. Its very important brief is to carry out tests and build up experience in operating fast breeder reactor systems. However, there is no customer for the bulk of the tests. And consequently there is no one to cover the expenses incurred.

However, the development of fast breeder reactors is a basic direction of the long-term development of the nuclear power industry. Our collective is working on this task with enthusiasm, which must be backed up economically. I think that the Beloyarskiy AES needs a state order for a program which balances tests with electricity output.

B. Ivanov, senior engineer at the Beloyarskiy AES, honored USSR power worker, Sverdlovsk oblast.

Reader Urges End to Ban on Duplicating Machines

PM1005154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter signed "V. Lesnichenko, young dramatist, settlement of Slobodzeya, Moldavian SSR," under the "Letters '...Not for Publication" rubric: "Establishing Open Duplication of Texts"]

[Text] As people are aware, cooperatives and people engaged in individual labor activity are forbidden to duplicate printed material and texts. Is it not time to reexamine this statute, and simply establish a state text-duplication service, as exists in many countries.

Why are we afraid that everyone will rush without fail to print something that is clearly illegal. I, for example, now need to obtain 20-30 copies of a new play called "Euphoria" on the topic of drug addiction. The subject is a topical one and the play might be of interest to theaters. Does one wait until its turn for publication comes at the All-Union Copyright Agency? But you know how sluggish our state organizations are in these matters.

Go to the typing pool? That will not be so cheap. And it is senseless when there are so many duplicators around which work much more quickly and cheaply!

The ban does operate. But... 'Samizdat' operates alongside—books are published and newspaper articles reprinted, since we are now assailed by an avalanche of very interesting information. Why, then, incite people to break the law?

Writer Decries Distortions of Civil War History

PM1105134988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 May 88 p 3

[Viktor Shutov article: "The Truth Needs No Visas. Writer's Reflections on Pages From the History of a Worker Region"]

[Text] Donetsk—Once I had a frank conversation with a local historian, a candidate of sciences.

"You literary workers have it easy," my interlocutor said. "You can publish your opinions without prior approval. We, however, are totally in the power of Kiev."

I thought to myself at that time: This shows how the established patterns, stereotypes, and schemas which were elaborated over the years in explaining historical events, and which researchers were categorically forbidden to deviate from, weigh on people's minds. Otherwise no candidate's or doctor's dissertation would see the light of day. And this dependence still persists to this day even though many of the old assessments are no longer in line with historical truth.

Here is an indicative example. The "Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party" [Ocherki Istorii Kommunisticheskoy Partii Ukrainy] (Ukrainian Political Literature Publishing House, 4th Edition, 1977, p 98) says the following about the December 1905 events in the Donbass: "When the Menshevik bosses of the Yuzovka group of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party received a telegram from Gorlovka asking for help, they made considerable efforts to prevent local workers from going to help their comrades. Under pressure from the Mensheviks, the Yuzovka Soviet of Workers' Deputies took a stance opposing armed struggle against tsarism."

These two sentences contain three factual errors. There was no Yuzovka Soviet as such. There was a Yuzovskiy Rayon Soviet of Workers' Deputies made up of 146 delegates—as they were known at the time—from the largest enterprises: The Yuzovka and Makeyevka metallurgical plants and the Rykovskoye, Markovskoye, and Russko-Donetskoye Companies and other mines. There was just one delegate from Yuzovka itself, representing the printing workers. The Rayon Soviet was made up of workers, and if it contained any Mensheviks they could have been counted on one's fingers, just like the Bolsheviks.

I would have liked to stick only to facts, but I feel that I can't manage without a comment. This unsubstantiated explanation of revolutionary events in the Donetsk region which were among the bloodiest and most violent in 1905-1906 (it was no accident that the governor-general's headquarters were located in Yuzovka in 1906, and the emergency situation in Yuzovskiy Rayon was maintained until 1910) has resulted in some historians, wittingly or unwittingly, "handing over" the working class to the Mensheviks in their works.

It is especially improper to retrospectively tailor specific events in some region of the country to suit a theory of revolutionary struggle, to perceive them in an abstract fashion, and to condemn them with hindsight. Almost all work stoppages and strikes in the pre-October period ended in defeat. But instead of explaining the causes of failure, it is easy to lay the blame on the Mensheviks: It was they who headed them. As a result, the heroic struggle of the working class is discredited and its revolutionary character is diminished: It is claimed that it was irresponsible and failed to follow the right people. Yet it was the workers who took the first steps in the class battles from which the victorious October Revolution grew. Lenin's party prepared the people's masses for decisive battles and made a profoundly Marxist analysis of defeats. The autocracy had a vast political, police, and military apparatus to suppress any action by working people, and this was the reason why there were casualties, blood was shed, and striking people in their thousands were either sent into penal servitude or [illegible] left to rot in jails....

The forgery of historical facts is disgusting. The newspaper STALINSKIY RABOCHIY wrote 1 May 1934: "During the war years of 1914-1916, the organization of work continued despite the extremely strong reaction. The Yuzovka City Bolshevik Organization was led by Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich."

There was nothing of the sort. A united Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party organization existed in Yuzovka until May 1917, and then the Bolshevik faction broke away. The rank-and-file defensist Menshevik [Menshevik-oboronets] Kasharovich (Kaganovich) engaged in no activity, as he was working in a shoemaker's workshop.

Kaganovich was proclaimed a "Bolshevik leader" retrospectively during his term in the Ukraine as first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee. I will not give any examples of the literally ludicrous claims concerning Kaganovich's "Bolshevik work." I will only mention the atmosphere which reigned in the late twenties and early thirties. F.I. Zaytsev, one of the organizers of the Yuzovka Bolshevik group and of Soviet power in the Donbass who worked together with Kaganovich as secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, regretfully admitted in the fifties:

"Just once in my life I compromised my conscience. I confirmed that Kaganovich had participated in Bolshevik work. But what could I do? I would have been crushed...."

Once the forgery was in circulation, historians adjusted their "research" to fit in with it and thus distorted the truth. In turn, this produced a pattern for books whose pages were full of lies.

Here is another example of the truth not being reflected in historical academic works. The Yuzovka Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, created in February 1917, is invariably described as Menshevik. But a reference to documents shows that its "behavior" was rather strange. The protocol of the soviet's session on 17 October speaks of electing V.I. Lenin's emissary Bolshevik G.I. Petrovskiy as honorary chairman. Grigoriy Ivanovich always spoke warmly about Yuzovka's proletariat in his memoirs: "Yuzovka was my main base for party links in the Donbass." That was during the underground years, and just before October the soviet openly gave him the floor to deliver an unscheduled speech. He sharply criticized the so-called Democratic Conference convened by the Provisional Government which "he initially found himself attending through an unfortunate misunderstanding" but which he left together with all

Bolsheviks. The former member of the State Duma expressed thanks to the working class for overthrowing the autocracy, thereby freeing itself and, at the same time, the exiled Social Democrat Duma members.

A joint session of the plant committee council and trade union representatives was held the next day. It was to decide the question of the ultimatum issued by the board of directors of the Novorossiyskoye Company to miners and plant workers who had switched to an 8-hour workday. The speakers advocated categorical rejection of concessions.

G.I. Petrovskiy also spoke. He submitted a resolution and the meeting adopted it: "1. To uphold in every way the workers' gains in this revolution, which boil down to a barely possible material existence. 2. To tell all metalworking and coal-mining comrades in the entire Donetsk Basin to follow the industrial workers' example and to assemble immediately to discuss the ultimatum demands by industrialists and reply to them on behalf of the entire proletariat of the Donetsk Basin."

Even in these businesslike written records one can sense the extraordinary tension of the struggle between workers and entrepreneurs on the eve of the October Revolution.

Unfortunately, none of this is to be found either in the historical essay "Donetsk," or in the "Donetsk Oblast" volume in the "History of Ukrainian SSR Cities and Villages" series, or in the "Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party." And the only reason is the fact that G.I. Petrovskiy's statements and his resolution do not fit in with the schema whereby everything falls into place. Why go into details, what was being written was not the history of people, it was a history of Stalin's ideas.

I could be accused of bias in favor of Yuzovskiy Rayon. Quite so, I am not indifferent to its history.

The sons of the proletarian Donbass headed by Communists lived through the crucible of ordeals during the civil war. The Yuzovskiy Rayon Red Guards fought their first field battle against Kaledin's forces in December 1917. During the prewar 5-year plan periods people in the Donbass raised high the country's labor glory—look no further than the names of N. Izotov, A. Stakhanov, P. Krivonos, P. Angelina, and M. Mazay.

For more than 30 years I have been working on restoring the history of my fellow countrymen's antifascist struggle. At the initial stage of difficult quest at the cost of many trials and tribulations, I had to overcome fierce resistance by ill-wishers, functionaries, and adversaries of the truth. I discovered amazing things. To start with, the underground was slandered. Trust was placed instead in timeservers and villains who were exposed only decades later. The actual participants in the resistance were proclaimed to be pseudopartisans, trials were instigated, and Communist A. Shvedov, commander of an underground detachment, was sentenced to execution by firing squad. Sovinformburo reports about participants in the antifascist struggle in Stalino blowing up an electricity supply substation and tank repair workshops and destroying a frontline dump containing aviation bombs, shells, and gunpowder were discredited and not recognized. No attention was paid even when the goons executed patriots.

I could cite countless examples of underground fighters being slandered, insulted, and humiliated as people, through which I had to fight my way to the truth.

Nevertheless, there were people who realized the importance of the quest for the restoration of heroic truth. Among them were frontline fighters D.Z. Belokolos and Ye.G. Kravchenko, formerly secretary of the Donetsk party obkom and chief of the KGB Oblast Directorate respectively; I.K. Kuprikov and A.V. Perov, staff workers of the Southern Front partisan movement; and Cheka staffers and archive officials in Moscow and Donetsk. The series of "Avengers of the People" programs on Donetsk television, which I chair, has evoked responses from participants in and eyewitnesses of the underground struggle. Their stories, diaries, documents, leaflets, and photographs totally refuted what was written in a series of publications like, for example, I. Omelyanenko's brochure "Donbass Communists in the Great Patriotic War."

Following the recent trials of criminals and traitors to the motherland who managed to evade deserved retribution in the postwar years and for some unknown reason had ended up as "consultants" on the Donetsk underground, we managed to restore to history and rehabilitate the names of genuine underground leaders and patriots. The combat annals of the Donbass were augmented with the detachments and groups of A. Shvedov, V. Gritsayenko and A. Krasnikov, P. Kolodin, V. Podshivalov, Z. Polonchuk, I. Ivanov, and G. Danilevskiy.

In Donetsk alone eight memorial plaques were installed, two schools and about 20 streets were named after the dead, and a granite wall was erected at the spot where the underground fighters were shot. Now the document anthology "Donetsk Oblast During the Great Patriotic War" lists 19 partisan and underground-partisan detachments and 23 underground groups.

One would have thought that historians would have taken advantage of these facts. But no. They have been ignored by the authors of the two-volume "History of Donbass Workers" [Istoriya Rabochikh Donbassa] and the authors of the ten-volume "History of the Ukrainian SSR" [Istoriya USSR] ("Naukova Dumka" Publishing House, Kiev, 1981-1985).

Just ask young people—workers, vocational and technical school pupils, students—whether they have a good knowledge of their native region's history. More often than not they would answer: No. The topic of the "small" motherland, of the land where you were born and grew up, where you live and develop into a citizen of the socialist fatherland, has been overlooked in curriculums. And yet patriotism begins with love for the native region, with the study of its history, its truthful history....

Economic

Aganbegyan: Restructuring Proceeding Painfully

PM1205143088 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
5 May 88 p 24

[Interview with economist Abel Aganbegyan by Giulietto Chiesa in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—The crucial moment has now arrived when the full scale of the problems of economic reform and the difficulties of its implementation have become apparent. In 2 years the new Soviet leadership has drawn up a package of measures that sum up restructuring and has embarked on the "second stage"—that of the measures' implementation. It immediately became apparent that many people's fears were very well-founded. The ministries and Gosplan—by no means reformed—have drawn up the plan on the basis of obsolete criteria, often deliberately violating the very guidelines of the Law on the State Enterprise approved last June. The press has carried very sharp condemnations of an apparent outright sabotage of the reform.

This was the starting point of our conversation with Abel Aganbegyan, the Soviet economist who, more than any other, has acted as adviser to the leadership, steering the thinking of the bodies that formulated the guidelines of restructuring. I asked him to draw us a quick picture of the situation.

"As you said, the second phase of the economic management reform has now begun. We are in the midst of implementing very far-reaching decisions. The state enterprise law has been in effect since 1 January. On this basis we have begun restructuring the activities of the ministries, departments, banks, financial bodies, supply bodies, and other organizations. The first practical steps of the reform are proceeding painfully and with many difficulties—difficulties due to objective circumstances. Enterprises are transferring to economic accountability and self-financing. However, this is taking place right in the midst of the 5-year plan, while the 'old' tasks assigned by the plan still apply and investments have already been allocated according to the criteria of the past. This is the first of the so-called objective circumstances. The second, which also constitutes an obstacle, is that the transition is taking place under the preexisting prices system and a centralized system of material and technical supplies. The price reform is planned for 1989-90, and 1989 will see the start of general transformations in wholesale supplies. So in many respects this is a transitional year."

[Chiesa] Do you identify only objective difficulties?

[Aganbegyan] Conditions are already very difficult. If correct decisions had been made the consequences could have been alleviated. If, on the other hand, the decisions are unsatisfactory the objective constraints are exacerbated. My opinion is that a number of errors were made in the approach to 1988.

[Chiesa] For instance?

[Aganbegyan] The most unfortunate decision was that of Gosplan and the Finance Ministry, which delegated to sectoral ministries the right to define the size of state orders and economic regulations governing enterprises. Thus the ministries' power, their interference, in enterprises' affairs has not been eliminated. On the contrary, the ministries have possessed powerful means of holding enterprises back and they have used them in the worst possible way. For instance, they have set rules for taxing profits which have penalized viable enterprises and in practice undermined enterprises' incentive to work harder. Furthermore they have turned state "instructions" into state "orders."

[Chiesa] Could you explain the difference more clearly?

[Aganbegyan] In principle an "instruction" must be issued by state bodies needing a certain product. For instance, Gosagroprom needs tractors to send to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Its job is to examine agricultural enterprises' requests and to "instruct" factories as to the quantities and technical specifications of the vehicles. Furthermore it should also monitor the quality of the output and how closely it matches consumers' requirements. What happens instead? The Agricultural Machine Building Ministry (which does not use tractors) appropriates the administrative plan, puts a "state instructions" label on it, and issues "orders" to its factories on the basis of its own requirements. Consequently the kolkhozes and sovkhozes refuse to purchase these tractors because they are of poor quality, not of the kind they need, and so forth. The error is clear.

[Chiesa] I would like to be clearer about the sources of the "resistance" that are the subject of daily vehement articles in your press. Some 2 years ago decisions were adopted granting kolkhozes and sovkhozes the opportunity to sell any produce in excess of plan requirements and even 30 percent of plan requirements on the "free" market. This decision has hardly been implemented at all, however.

[Aganbegyan] Yes, this is so.

[Chiesa] Why? Who has blocked those decisions?

[Aganbegyan] I cannot say. I do not know much about agriculture. Something has been done—for fruit and vegetable markets, for instance. Of course, the intention was different. The problem lies in the centralized purchasing plans. This is where change must take place.

[Chiesa] During the February plenum Gorbachev put forward a very grave analysis of the economic system. Basically, he said not only that "growth rates are very low and reaching a critical level" but that, isolated from external factors (such as oil prices) or entirely misleading internal factors (such as state revenue from vodka sales), they reveal that "over the past 20 years there has been no increase in the overall growth rate of the national income."

[Aganbegyan] It is true. For four 5-year periods there was an actual increase in the national income but its growth rate decreased. The low point was 1979-82, when there was no longer any growth even in absolute terms. This meant stagnation and pre-crisis phenomena.

[Chiesa] Gorbachev says that the situation demands extraordinary efforts in two directions at once—toward a radical economic reform and toward the reform of the current economic situation. Nikolay Shmelev recently put forward in NOVYY MIR what at first sight appear to be astonishing short-term, economic policy proposals, for instance, large-scale gold sales, an increased foreign debt (to increase imports of food and consumer products), the lifting of restriction of alcohol sales, and so forth. What is your opinion of them?

[Aganbegyan] Overall I form a positive assessment of Shmelev and his article. I agree with most of his analysis. However, I consider his proposals incorrect.

[Chiesa] All of them?

[Aganbegyan] No, those that you mentioned. It is easy to resort to indebtedness. However, we have witnessed the experience of Poland, Hungary, and Romania. The fact is that debts must be repaid. Even with our existing debts we pay $3 billion a year in interest. With these $3 billion we could have bought, for instance, all the cars that we produce in the country; in other words, we could have doubled our output of cars and satisfied domestic demand. Instead we just throw the money away... for nothing, so to speak. Shmelev proposes that we incur liabilities for 6 billion rather than $3 billion, ignoring the fact that, with our production organized as it is now and under the present economic system, we cannot use investments efficiently. With regard to vodka, I believe we made a mistake by increasing its price. The result has been an explosion of home distilling and increased sugar consumption.

[Chiesa] Shmelev says that as a result of this only one-third of "alcoholic" profits go to the state and two-thirds to moonshiners—the reverse of the previous situation. Do you consider these estimates accurate?

[Aganbegyan] They are definitely wrong. Shmelev is not a specialist in this field. This is not the point. The error has been made and moonshining has rocketed. This does not mean that a reduction of moonshining would be achieved by reducing prices. I hope you understand. In the past it was decided to limit personal plots, with the result that many peasants slaughtered their cows. Then the mistake was recognized and peasants were encouraged to buy cows again—but in vain. What I mean is that it is easier to light a fire than to extinguish it. Nevertheless, although I disagree with them, I judge Shmelev's proposals positively insofar as something must be done, because the way the reform is going really is giving rise to anxieties.

[Chiesa] There is a great debate on price reform. What do you intend to do? Will there be corrections or structural reforms?

[Aganbegyan] No decisions have yet been made. The reform is envisaged for 1989-90 and in two directions: an adaptation of domestic prices to world levels (for instance, fuels and raw materials are almost half the price in our country); and corrections to the prices of food products, which are too low in comparison with those of other products (with compensatory payments to the population). If this is carried out, it will all have to be discussed with people in advance, democratically. Furthermore there must be a change in the way prices are set, to reduce the number of prices set centrally and to sharply increase the proportion of free prices both in industry and in the retail trade.

[Chiesa] There is much talk about currency reform.

[Aganbegyan] We are planning a transition to a convertible ruble—first within the socialist countries' markets, then in the capitalist markets.

[Chiesa] On what time scale?

[Aganbegyan] The chief measure in this connection is price reform. We must bring our prices closer to world levels. We must improve our financial position, and improve our products' competitiveness. It will take a number of years.

[Chiesa] Will restructuring create an unemployment problem in the USSR?

[Aganbegyan] There is no sign of it at present. In our country the demand for labor exceeds the supply, partly because of the fall in the rate of growth of the active population due to the demographic consequences of the war. It will be difficult to find jobs for those who lose them following restructuring. Be that as it may, we do have measures to protect workers. If they are inadequate we will adopt more. For instance, in 2 years we have reduced the number of railroad employees by 270,000. They have all found other jobs.

[Chiesa] Without problems?

[Aganbegyan] With problems—but not insoluble ones. The forecast is this: By the year 2000 the structural changes will release 16 million people in all sectors.

[Chiesa] It will be more difficult for management personnel....

[Aganbegyan] Approximately half of them will retire. The other half will be relocated.

[Chiesa] Do you consider the development of cooperation adequate?

[Aganbegyan] Some 13,800 cooperatives have been formed within a few months. We would add to this the 400,000 permits for individual activity issued from May last year through January this year. This is not many set against an active population of 140 million. It is understandable however: People are pondering.... New prices have not yet been set and there is no retail trade. The law on cooperation has not yet been introduced. It will take time before an initial stock taking can be carried out.

[Chiesa] To return to foreign relations, has the initial experience of joint ventures been positive?

[Aganbegyan] I believe it has been a very modest beginning. It would have been possible to do 10 times as much.

[Chiesa] Must something be changed, therefore?

[Aganbegyan] A great deal must be changed. Here too price reform will help, as will the establishment of an internal market and the fact that there will be a better mutual acquaintance. China has done better in this field and we must examine its results.

[Chiesa] It seems to me that western businessmen do not like the Soviets' imposition of a 51 percent shareholding.

[Aganbegyan] Yes. I believe experimental areas should be organized in which western partners are granted more than 49 percent and other benefits.

[Chiesa] Is it feasible?

[Aganbegyan] It is impossible to do everything right away. Be that as it may, we have 300 proposals for joint ventures—50 of them from the United States alone. I visited there recently and gained the impression that if we work properly we could form 1,000 just with the United States. There is great interest. Good organization is needed, however, and organization is not our strong point at present.

Radical Changes, Not Half-Measures Needed

PM1105154488 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 May 88 p 10

[Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Chernyak article under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Half-Measures Will Not Help!"]

[Text] When people talk about socialism, I always want to ask: What kind of socialism—ideal or real? The Venus de Milo or your own wife?

Deviation from the fundamental principles is taking a terrible vengeance. It turned out that the main shortage under socialism was the shortage of... socialism. Hence the main slogan of restructuring—"more socialism." The incompleteness of principles was manifested first and foremost in the incompleteness of democracy and the bureaucratization and monopolization of public life.

From this viewpoint, addressing the delegates to the forthcoming party conference, I wish to recall: The essence of restructuring cannot be reduced, as is often the case, to the restructuring of consciousness or to cadre changes. Of course, the interaction of living conditions and consciousness takes place in the socioeconomic sphere, but on what basis? On the basis of social living conditions. It is customary to ask: "How are you restructuring yourself?" For people to restructure themselves, society must be restructured.

Cadre reshuffles (with no change of status or functions) are little use in themselves. A store director who had been in his post for a few months, replacing a man who was sent to prison, stated that he will have to do what his predecessor did, or leave his post. The director of a major association, having become a minister, restricts the autonomy of his former colleagues, although when he was a director that made him indignant. I have often seen the enemies of favoritism becoming its practitioners.

The matter is not as simple as it sometimes appears. On the one hand, replacing leaders while the mechanism remains unchanged produces limited results, but on the other, to implement a new policy you need new people.

Our main type of loss is unrealized potential. One wonders, whose idea was it that it is easier to build socialism than to secure higher labor productivity than capitalism? The economic mechanism created by Stalin that operated from the late twenties and early thirties did not allow the full realization of socialism's potential, because it was anti-economic accountability and antidemocratic.

Consequently the essence of restructuring lies in the de-Stalinization of economic life, and at the same time political and spiritual life.

The existing system of economic management picks out partial, compromise changes. It is incapable of absorbing them. Therefore half-measures cannot produce results. Restructuring requires radical transformations in the system of social relations and a switch from the administrative system of management to the economic system, from "administrative socialism" to "economic accountability socialism," from bureaucratization to democratization. The points are changing, directing us onto a different track. It seems we have realized that the scientific and technical revolution cannot be effected by the methods of noneconomic coercion.

Who is to blame, for instance, for the crisis in agriculture? The forcible methods of collectivization of agriculture and the policy of extorting from it not only surplus, but essential produce did it tremendous damage.

Noneconomic coercion was a hitherto characteristic of industry too. It was carried out on the basis of the redistribution of resources irrespective of the collective's labor contribution, irrespective of the enterprises' standard of economic management. In effect this amounts to the confiscation of financial resources from those who work well and their transfer to those who work badly. Those who work badly exploit those who work well. It is not advantageous to work well. At enterprises that have attained a high level of economic management, increasing the pace and intensiveness of labor does not result in appropriate remuneration in compensation.

What is the solution? It goes without saying that it lies, first of all, in economic accountability. Here the most important thing is self-financing. This operates when an enterprise lives by means of amortization of circulating capital, wages, and profit. At present these conditions do not, alas, exist in full—the brakes have been applied to self-financing. The funds earned by enterprises are still confiscated to implement a social security policy and pull up laggard production units (and not only for purposes within the sector).

In a word, the distribution of income is problem number one. This is the end of the thread that we must grasp to unravel the whole enormous tangle of economic problems. The supporters of the concept of forcing the pace into the future propose renouncing profit, wages, and economic accountability income. In practical terms this is a damaging utopia. If we made a leap like that, we would roll back to an even more serious position.

Slogans now hang everywhere: "Restructuring means working better in your work place." That is a simplistic interpretation of the matter. The whole point is to create conditions in which it would be impossible to work badly. This involves switching over to remuneration not for participation in the labor process, but for the results. The remuneration is a share in the results (in the economic accountability gross income or in the net income). Instead of leveling out remuneration, it is necessary to differentiate levels of remuneration in every way, in line with the differentiation of labor contributions. There is a perception threshold for incentives. It is necessary not only to swing the pendulum of income differentiation, but also to overcome the reluctance to use sanctions (lowering gradings, reducing wages, demotion, the loss of work). Until now, incentives have, with us, been a one-way street (with traffic only in the direction of rewards).

Overcoming the deformation of ownership relations is extremely important for restructuring. The worker has become alienated from the means of production, the working person from the management of property. Ownership has become faceless. Hence the lack of responsibility, indifference, and apathy. What is the solution to this problem? To unite in one person the owner, master, and working person by means of clear demarcation of the functions of the state and the labor collectives, widen the collectives' autonomy, and promote self-management. The collective should be the manager, rather than taking part in management under the administration. Otherwise we will be dealing with an apparatus-based, bureaucratic version of self-management.

Self-management will promote the natural regulation of the economy. The built-in defects in the economic mechanism should be replaced by built-in regulators—normatives, prices, payments for resources, tax payments. The economy must be emancipated, released from its fetters, and that can be done by reducing the number of economic militias.

Within the framework of state ownership, various forms of economic management are possible (family, cooperative, rental, shareholding). But for some reason it was hitherto believed that only the state form of economic management is acceptable. The extent of the harm done by this misinterpretation cannot be measured. Why should the state interfere in every nook and cranny of economic life? Fortunately it appears that the utilization of cooperative principles in industry and the transfer of production capital to labor collectives on a rental basis are not now in dispute. The use of the share form of ownership (the first experience already exists) also promises to be highly effective.

The idea has not yet been overcome that the cooperative form is possible only in agricultural production. But this form has not been developed within the framework of what is basically hypothetical kolkhoz-cooperative ownership. The kolkhoz collective was never able to realize ownership economically. Therefore we never really had kolkhoz-cooperative ownership. Since we have decided to tell the truth, let us tell it.

To move further into glasnost, we must cure ourselves of uniformity of thought, in the sense of one thought for all. Stalin implemented Kozma Prutkov's "project" for the imposition of uniformity of thought in Russia [Kozma Prutkov was the collective pseudonym of a group of

19th-century Russian comic writers]. We have to get used to the existence of different points of view, diversity of views, the right to one's own opinion, one's own view.

It is not hard to see that a tendency is emerging to talk about many of our "sores" in the past tense. There is a danger of stifling restructuring with our embraces. Enough criticism, people say, publicize the positive experience. I would like to object: The less criticism there is, the less of the experience we need will emerge.

The main question of restructuring, as in any revolution, is the question of power. The essence of the transformations here is to overcome the omnipotence of bureaucracy.

Democracy is indisputably the essential prerequisite for resolving economic problems. The purpose of the turnabout accomplished by Stalin was to establish control of the party by the party leadership and the power of officials over the people. An open, honest, impassioned political struggle became impossible. Duplicity became the norm. An empire of hypocrisy was created. Leaders [vozhdi] at various levels exercised control, flouting human dignity, morality, and law.

Not infrequently, against this background, people reduce everything to the matter of Stalin's personal qualities. I am sure it is not a question of Stalin or Brezhnev, but of the whole system of relationships by which their power was sustained and of which they were personifications. To think otherwise is to explain the course of history by the peculiarities of Cleopatra's profile.

We cannot avoid answering these questions: Why were the institutions of real power concentrated in one person's hands? Why was no mechanism set up to limit the dictatorship of personal power? Why was the general secretary's term in office not limited to a specific, statutory term? Why were no measures adopted to ensure the compulsory renewal of leading party organs?

The pattern "leader [vozhd] and cogs" became more deeply embedded in our consciousness than we sometimes think. The tendency to canonize an authoritative opinion and make icons of leaders cannot just evaporate like steam. But that makes it all the more necessary to pay attention to the questions I have mentioned. Attempts to change something without changing anything are not the best means in any conditions. Today, they are downright useless.

In my view, in discussing the question of power at the 19th party conference, we must not fail to talk about the clear vertical distribution of functions in management, as well as among party, soviet, economic, and trade union organs. Without a doubt, party organs should go over entirely to political methods of leadership. Their direct interference in economic life, which used to happen all the time, can now do nothing but harm.

The conference delegates should, in my view, also define their position on something else. It should finally be made clear that implementing restructuring with the help of the existing apparatus is like trying to pull yourself out of a bog by your own hair. So far, only Baron Munchhausen has been able to do such things. It is necessary not merely to reduce the management apparatus, but to change the organizational structures. But even that is not enough. It is necessary decisively to change the status and functions of management organs. To change the type of apparatus. We need an apparatus that knows how to use economic methods of management.

Is a conflict-free development of restructuring possible? No, it is not. There is no escape, it is bound to injure personal interests and privileges. And how! The social base of the opponents of restructuring includes: those who enjoy privileges and unearned income (illegal and legal); those who receive payment not for the results of labor, but for participation in the process of labor, for their position, title, office, or rank; those who will not or cannot renounce the old, command methods of leadership.

Hence the proposal to discuss yet another aspect of the current problems. It involves the restructuring of human destinies. There is no point in concealing the fact that deformed social relationships inevitably also deformed people and their destinies. It was not without reason that the actress Ada Rogovtseva, in reply to a question from our Kiev correspondent: "In what time would you have liked to live?", said bitterly: "In any time except my own. My best years were spent in the terrible, absurd times now known as the period of stagnation." I suppose many of us could answer in approximately the same way. Therefore I want everything that is discussed at the conference to hinge on people.

Not simply democracy, but people and democracy. Not the economy as such, but people and the economy. Not simply society, socialism, but people and... In a word, need I say that in restructuring there can be no abstractions or half-measures? That its future is our future?.. For some people this may perhaps be only some kind of nuance within the ideology of restructuring. For me, it is the essence. The party essence and the human essence.

Statistics on Authorized Absenteeism Cited

PM1205143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[V. Parfenov article under the rubric "Reflected in Statistics": "They Did Not Come to Work"]

[Text] Probably not everyone knows this figure produced by the USSR State Committee for Statistics: Last year daily absence from work averaged 700,000 persons.

Where were these people? Were they absent without leave, lounging around at home? No, every one of these 700,000 workers left home at the proper time but went not to the plant, the institute or the design bureau but, for example, to tidy up a city garden, to sort vegetables at a depot; or was sent by the gorkom on official business to the countryside; or sat for 3 days or more at symposiums, seminars, and conferences at union, republic and oblast level.

In a word, these people were everywhere but at work. The man is not at work, but gets paid all the same. How much did our cashiers pay out to people who were not at work? The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports the following: "Expenditure by enterprises, establishments and organizations in connection with workers being diverted from their main employment cost the national economy a total of R1,649,000,000 in 1987. Some R1,547,000,000 of this was to pay the wages which they still got from their main employment."

It turns out that people received more than R1.5 billion, but not even statistics proved up to the task of computing the actual return on their "labor." Simply no data exist in a number of instances. Of course, if a group of designers from a design bureau go to a kolkhoz to dig up potatoes, there are some results from this, albeit trifling. But just try and express the "return" utilizing actual figures, if more than 25 million working days were lost waiting at people's courts and military commissariats to "sort out" passports at the militia department. This did not mean the slightest "gain" for the enterprise or for the entire national economy. But then the huge losses are self-evident. They directly increase the cost and price of output produced.

Where else do people waste our chief wealth—work time? About 197 million working days were lost last year. Some 95.6 million—almost half—of them were "diverted" to agricultural work. Constructing facilities and providing amenities in urban zones accounted for 31.7 million working days. Summons to military commissariats and people's courts for the reasons mentioned rank third.

People spent 9.5 million working days at vegetable depots. Moreover, local organs are particularly keen to send to these depots doctors and candidates of science, and in addition—designers and technologists. Moreover, the local authorities think like this: It does not pay to take workers away from their machine tools to go to the depot, the plan will fall apart while the time lost by scientists and designers will have no effect on plan fulfillment.

Alas, our city fathers are mistaken in thinking like this! A quintal of potatoes cleaned of mold by a doctor of science is very costly indeed if his salary is taken into account! But there are even greater losses because scholars, designers, and technologists will not complete in time the development of a new machine or new technology, and will be late in handing over to construction workers plans for a shop, residence, or hospital...

There has been some progress over the last year in the struggle against loss of work time. For example, as soon as leave to fulfill such public duties as participating in people's detachments was cancelled, diversion from the main activity was reduced by a factor of more than two. In 1985 daily "diversions" amounted to 800,000 whereas last year, as we already know, the figure was 700,000.

Radical reform in all sectors of the national economy requires each management link to give up using edicts and pressure in their leadership methods. Only full economic accountability will force them to cherish and expend properly our main reserve—work time.

Agricultural

Ligachev, Others Attend Feed Industry Meeting

LD1105211488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] A conference was held at the CPSU Central Committee today to examine measures to improve the functioning of the compound feed industry and to improve the quality of its output. Secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committees of the union republics, chairmen of republican state agro-industrial committees, ministers of grain products of the union republics, secretaries of a number of obkoms and kraykoms, chairmen of oblast agro-industrial committees, chiefs of grain product directorates of the RSFSR, heads of union and republican ministries and departments and of enterprises of the compound feed industry, and scientists and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee were invited to the conference.

The conference was opened by Comrade Ligachev. A report was delivered by Comrade Budyka, USSR minister of grain products. The heads of ministries and departments and party and economic workers took part in discussing the question. Comrade Nikonov spoke at the conference.

The conference participants made a thorough analysis of the work of enterprises of the compound feed industry and charted ways of raising the efficiency of the industry on the basis of introducing into production the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive forms of organization of labor and remuneration. Comrade Baklanov and Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, took part in the conference.

Ligachev on Republic Tasks

LD1205202688 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—A conference held at the CPSU Central Committee on May 11 considered measures to improve the performance of the mixed feed industry and enhance product quality.

The meeting was opened by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Viktor Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his address to the conference analysed shortcomings in the development of the mixed feed industry. Basic assignments were given to the industry to perfect the organisation of mixed feed production.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Ligachev emphasised that in order to boost mixed feed and agricultural production it was necessary that each republic, territory and region employ the available production and scientific potential on a contract basis in all economic branches irrespective of their subordination.

Intensive Technology 'Promises' Yield Increase

LD1205135288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] I will begin this news bulletin with a report published by the USSR State Committee for Statistics today. It is devoted to spring fieldwork in the countryside. Since the beginning of May, 4.2 million hectares of grain crops, which will be cultivated by intensive technology, have been sown. Compared with last year, work is being carried out at a greater pace. I will point out that intensive technology promises not only an increase in the quantity of grain but also an improvement in its quality.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1900' Satellite 'Permanently Monitored'

LD1305110988 Moscow Tass in English 1100 GMT 13 May 88

["TASS Announcement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The artificial earth satellite "Cosmos-1900" with a nuclear power plant on board was launched in the Soviet Union on December 12, 1987. According to competent Soviet organisations, radio contact with the satellite was lost in April 1988. The satellite is continuing in its oriented flight, and the main service systems are functioning according to the program. The satellite will fly in orbit till August-September 1988, after which it will cease to exist. The satellite "Cosmos-1900" has systems ensuring radiation safety on completion of the flight.

The flight of the satellite "Cosmos-1900" is being permanently monitored.

'Cosmos-1942' Satellite Launched 12 May

LD1305072788 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The Soviet Union launched another satellite in the Cosmos series yesterday.

Cosmos-1942 carries scientific equipment for continuing space exploration.

It was put in an orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—89.8 minutes,

Maximum distance from earth (apogee)—385 kilometers,

Minimum distance—178 kilometers,

Inclination—67 degrees.

Besides the scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for precisely measuring the orbit's parameters and a radio telemetry system for transmitting data concerning the operation of the instruments back to earth.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

A coordinating-and-computing center is processing incoming information.

'Progress-36' Satellite Launched 13 May

LD1305064088 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The Soviet Union lifted off an unmanned supply spacecraft at 4 hours 30 minutes today in keeping with a program for further work on the research platform Mir.

Progress-36 was launched to bring expendable materials and various cargoes to the manned platform.

Progress-36 was inserted into an orbit with the following parameters:

Maximum distance from earth—262 kilometers,

Minimum distance—193 kilometers,

Period of revolution—88.6 minutes,

Inclination—51.6 degrees.

According to telemetry data, the space freighter's on-board systems are functioning normally.

'Mir' Work Continues; 'Progress' To Dock 15 May

LD1305133688 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are completing their 144th day in orbit.

In the past two days they conducted another series of planned experiments aboard the orbiting platform Mir to study natural resources of earth and the environment.

They photographed and visually studied south-western areas in Soviet territory and individual sea and ocean areas.

The spacemen continued astrophysics studies using the orbital observatory Roentgen and the Glazar telescope. Yesterday, for example, they monitored X-ray emissions from the supernova in the Large Magellanic Cloud and took ultra-violet pictures of part of the Leo constellation.

The cosmonauts performed also a number of technical experiments aiming to evaluate the condition of portholes and determine the dynamic characteristics of the orbiting platform.

Under a plan for medical examinations, Titov and Manarov today are to undergo check-ups focusing on their eyesight, hearing and heights, and biochemical studies.

The cosmonauts will take a day off Saturday and on the following day the space freighter Progress-36 is to dock with the platform Mir.

Soviet, Syrian Cosmonauts Tour Country

LD1205184588 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Leningrad May 12 TASS—"Cooperation with the Soviet Union has opened up prospects for Syrian participation in the exploration of outer space. Scientific data obtained in the joint flight are of immense importance for us," Syrian Cosmonaut Muhammad Faris told a TASS correspondent today.

He is making a tour of the Soviet Union together with his standby Munir Habib at invitation of the international organisation Intercosmos.

Faris and the Soviet spacemen Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Laveykin completed a space mission in July 1987 on board the research orbital complex Mi Soyuz manned at that time by Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov.

The company met again on this tour.

"Our mission proved the possibility of successful interaction between countries with different levels of economic and social development," Faris noted. "It became an important step in strengthening cooperation between the USSR and Syria.

"Our flight lasted only eight days, but what we achieved could be compared to years of work on earth."

"The crew was like one family: There were no national differences. We shared the sight of earth and experienced similar feelings.

"Outer space helped us feel children of the most magnificent planet which we saw without boundaries that divide nations.

"In orbit, one realises full well how small our planet is. To preserve it peaceful is the duty of every person. [sentence as received] I hope that the voices of Soviet and Syrian people will be heard from outer space again and again," the Syrian spaceman pointed out.

Ecology Seminar on 'Greenhouse Effect' Continues

LD1205154788 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Soviet and American ecologists adopted a decision on joint work to predict the changes in the earth's climate up to the year 2050. This was announced here in Moscow at the two-day Soviet-American seminar on "greenhouse effect".

This effect described by Soviet scientist Mikhail Budyko several years ago means the increase of average temperatures near the earth's surface as a result of the discharge into the atmosphere of various substances interfering with normal heat exchange. The increase of the temperature by merely one or two degrees can lead to the melting of ice caps near the poles and the flooding of coastal zones of mainlands.

Walter Orr Roberts, honourary president of the University Corporation for Atmospheric Research, speaking at the seminar's closure, expressed concern over the effect of industrial activity on the environment. Humanity unwittingly started an unheard of experiment which can lead to climatic changes without precedent in the history of the earth, Walter Orr Roberts said.

During the seminar, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Budyko, predicting negative consequences of the warming which is to take place in the next few decades, noted that some positive consequences of climatic changes are possible. As a result of the increase of the average temperature near the earth's surface, more water will be evaporated from oceans and the volume of sediments in some regions will increase. For instance, desert areas on the territory of the Soviet Central Asian republics near the Caspian will turn into steppes with the passage of time. The beginning of this process can already be observed, he said.

A first permanent computer communications link between Soviet and American ecologists was opened during the seminar's meetings. In the course of the year they will be exchanging the information on the problems of "greenhouse effect", global prediction of climatic changes, adaptation of humanity to the changing conditions of existence.

First Permanent Computer Link Opened With U.S.

LD1105204688 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States today opened the first ever permament computer communications line between Moscow and Washington.

The line has been sponsored by the Institute of Space Research under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the U.S. University Corporation for Atmospheric Research, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Soviet and American ecologists, participating in a seminar held in Moscow to discuss problems of the so-called greenhouse effect (a global rise in atmospheric temperatures at the earth's surface as a result of man's industrial activities), were the first to use the line.

Prof. Walter Orr Roberts, honourary president of the University Corporation for Atmospheric Research, said at the opening ceremony that Soviet and U.S. specialists would be able to exchange information, using also personal computers, any time now.

He said that the new line offered a good example of improved interaction between scientists of the two countries in the drive to solve global problems facing mankind, above all the ecological problem.

Scientists will use the line for a year to work on a forecast of the earth's climate by the year 2050 and find ways to prevent ecological destabilisation of the atmosphere due to the greenhouse effect.

Academician Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Soviet Institute of Space Research, inaugurated the line in Washington together with U.S. Astronaut Russel Schweikart, a participant in the Apollo 9 space flight.

Sagdeyev exchanged greetings with his colleagues in Moscow and transmitted a message to them, emphasising the historic importance of the opening of the first permanent line between Moscow and Washington.

"The line makes it possible to pool talents of scientists of the two countries for the solution of the ecological problem, one of the most pressing problems facing mankind," the message said.

The computer communications will be conducted via a relay satellite of the European Space Agency.

Satellites Used in Freight Movement Control

PM1105084188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Engineer Yu. Atserov, State Prize winner: "Space Link for Drivers"]

[Text] Some unusual experiments are to be carried out in May and June this year. A linkup is going to be made with vehicles via satellite from the international INMARSAT organization with the aid of compact equipment.

For more than 6 years, satellites have been providing ships with an efficient, automated communications link in all the world's oceans. Now the efficiency of this communications link is to be put to the test when applied to vehicular freight haulage.

INMARSAT will be carrying out these experiments in our own country's territory and also in Bulgaria, Poland, and a number of West European countries. The All-Union "Morsvyaz-Sputnik" Association, which represents the Soviet Union in INMARSAT, will be taking part in the experiments on our side.

At present we have some 6,500 vessels of various designations fitted out with satellite communications equipment. The number is expected to increase to 9,000 by 1990.

The Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry has developed a complex of maritime equipment and, in a short space of time, created and commissioned equipment for international maritime satellite communications centers in the Odessa and Nakhodka regions.

Seamen believe that satellite communications have the advantage over traditional systems. They are a better guarantee of navigation safety and provide the opportunity to enhance the commercial potential of maritime work.

By making use of telex networks and telephonic communications, the captains of transport vessels can collaborate efficiently with freight consigners and recipients and with brokerage firms in any country and, in addition, pick up lucrative freight en route.

Ships receive information in good time as to whether moorage facilities are ready and whether teams are available for loading and unloading. This makes it possible for them to select the optimum speed en route and thereby save fuel. It is very important for the crew to receive information while still at sea on the type of freight concerned and on the preparation of facilities for its reception so that they can save time in anchorage.

The total economic result from the use of satellite communications is estimated at R35-45,000 per year for each ship.

The age of satellite communications in aviation is also coming. The need to improve air safety, operational efficiency, and air traffic control services' accuracy, as well as navigation and passenger services, cannot now be fully met by traditional facilities.

The USSR was one of the first to support the idea of extending INMARSAT's role in satellite communications to the aviation sphere and ratify the appropriate amendments to the Convention and the Operations Agreement which came into force in March 1988.

The first experiments in satellite communications with aircraft were conducted by INMARSAT in October last year on Japanese air routes. The first commercial services are expected to be made available to aircraft in 1989.

Military

Yefimov Views Air Force Past, Present

PM1105144988 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 19, May 88 (Signed to Press 5 May 88) p 3

[Article by Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Air Force: "The Motherland's Wings"]

[Text] There are events in world history whose memory lasts through the centuries. The Great Patriotic War! The Soviet people's holy war against fascist invasion has gone down in history forever under this proud name. The further these terrible—both tragic and victorious—1,418 days and nights recede into the past, the brighter and fuller becomes the illumination of the great feat accomplished by Soviet people, who upheld the gains of October and made the decisive contribution to the routing of fascist Germany and its satellites, the liberation of Europe's peoples from fascist slavery, and the salvation of human civilization.

It has been 43 years since the act of fascist Germany's unconditional capitulation was signed in the night of 8-9 May. The routing of fascism and the victorious conclusion of the war became an event of crucial and world historic importance which opened up for redeemed mankind new paths of social progress and the prospect of just and lasting peace. This is why our historic victory is also relevant to the present and the future.

While preparing to attack the Soviet Union, German fascism, which had totally subordinated the economies of the countries it had conquered and had placed the economies of its European allies and satellites under its control, significantly boosted its already huge military-economic potential in 1939-1941. It was twice as great as the USSR's potential.

In the conditions of the growing danger of war the country prepared to fittingly repulse the enemy in the event of attack. During the thirties our party and the Soviet Government took a series of measures aimed at further boosting the Air Force's combat capability. The numerical strength of the Air Force was increased, new units were formed, new types of aircraft were added to the arsenal, the organizational structure was improved, and the network of airfields was expanded.

In 1939 the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the Soviet Government took emergency measures to consolidate the aviation industry. The LAGG-3, MIG-3, and YAK-1 fighters, PE-2, PE-8, and IL-4 bombers, and the IL-2 ground-attack aircraft were tested, taken into service, and put into series production within a matter of 18-24 months. About 3,000 new types of machines were manufactured by the time the war started.

At the end of 1940 the number of aviation industry enterprises had increased by three-fourths compared with 1937. Consequently, the number of aircraft in the Soviet Air Force more than doubled in comparison with 1939. There was an 80 percent increase in the number of aviation regiments. Aviation divisions were created, which became the top tactical formations. The High Command Aviation was created in November 1940. Within a few years just before the war the number of aviation schools and colleges increased more than fivefold. But time was running out. There was not enough time to fully supply the army with modern equipment.

On 22 June 1941 fascist Germany launched a treacherous strike in great strength against the Soviet Union. The enemy's numerical superiority over Soviet troops along the main salients of his strikes was three- or even fourfold. It took 17 months of the most cruel combat operations against the enemy's superior forces to fully and finally ensure the thwarting of all his plans and designs. The crushing blows against the enemy in the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk and on the Dnepr produced a fundamental turnabout in the Great Patriotic War and in World War II as a whole. The Soviet troops moved on to the offensive along the entire Soviet-German front and not only drove the fascist invaders out of our own land but also fought successful combat operations on the territory of 10 European countries, helping their peoples to liberate themselves from Hitlerite invasion.

Our glorious Air Force made a fitting contribution to the routing of the fascist aggressors. In close collaboration with the Ground Forces and the Navy or independently, they smashed the enemy on land and in the air in battles along the Western borders, in the skies above Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, and the Kuban, in the Soviet Polar region, in the battle near Kursk, and in offensive operations during the final period of the war.

Starting in 1942 and through to the end of the war, the might of the Soviet Air Force grew continuously. By mid-summer 1943 it had gained strategic domination in the air. During the war Soviet airmen flew about 4 million combat sorties. In the course of fierce operations and battles they destroyed 57,000 aircraft, which represented 62 percent of the enemy aviation's total losses in World War II and 74 percent of its losses on the Soviet-German front.

More than 600 flying sons of the Soviet people rammed fascist aircraft in the air. The immortal feat by the crew under N. Gastello, who flew his damaged aircraft into a concentration of enemy men and equipment, was emulated by more than 500 flight crews. It was typical that not a single one of Hitler's celebrated airmen had the courage to do that.

The motherland fittingly appraised the valiant hawks' exploits—more than 200,000 Soviet aviators were decorated with orders and medals and 2,420 airmen were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, with 65 winning this distinction twice and A. Pokryshkin and I. Kozhedub three times.

It was neither "the fortune of war" nor accident that brought victory to the Soviet Air Force and the entire Red Army. The outcome of the gigantic clash proved the everlasting vital strength of the Soviet state and social system, the mobility of the socialist economy, and the superiority of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The treacherous fascist attack placed our aviation industry in a difficult situation: About 85 percent of its production capacities had to be relocated in the eastern part of the country.

The People's Commissariat of Aviation Industry, backed by party organs, managed to organize aircraft production in new areas and then to expand their manufacture in a very brief period of time, virtually from scratch. The working people in aviation industry enterprises realized that any time gained in the plants was equivalent to battle gains at the front. There was a widespread movement beneath the slogan: "Work not only for yourself, but also for the comrade at the front!" There was a mass movement of inventors and rationalizers in production.

During the Great Patriotic War industry assimilated the series production of 25 types of new or updated aircraft and 23 types of aviation engines. The horizontal speed of Soviet aircraft increased by 35-40 percent, there was a considerable improvement in the maneuverability of fighters, and the bomb load capacity and the flight altitude and range of bombers all increased. The aggregate weight of projectiles fired per second increased by a factor of 2.1 for fighters and 3.1 for ground-attack aircraft. Soviet aircraft were superior to foreign, and especially U.S., aircraft in terms of simplicity and reliability. The IL-2 ground-attack aircraft was the one that was most widely used in our Air Force. Not a single country in the world had combat aircraft with specifications to match the IL-2. I flew 222 combat sorties in this aircraft. We called it "flying tank," the fascists called it "black death."

By supplying the front with more than 112,000 combat aircraft, the USSR aviation industry won a convincing victory during the war over the fascist aviation industry which, despite the considerably more favorable conditions it enjoyed and the production capacities of almost all capitalist Europe which it had at its disposal, produced only about 79,000 aircraft.

When recalling the grim years of the war, we cannot overlook our people's mass patriotic movement to collect money for the building of aircraft for the front. A sum of R2.5 billion was paid into aviation industry funds. The "Moskva," "Leningrad," "Kiev," "Uralskiy Rabochiy," "Sovetskoye Primorye," "Mariyskiy Kolkhoznik," "Sovetskaya Belorussiya," "Tuvinskiy Narod—Frontu," and many other squadrons took to the air from plant airfields and flew off in the direction of the front.

The lessons of the Great Patriotic War are instructive and always topical. The victory over fascist Germany and its satellites proved that imperialists' military adventures against socialism are doomed to failure. Those who wanted to bring the whole world to its knees and destroy socialism were routed and cast on the scrap heap of history.

Socialism not only gained victory, but emerged morally and politically stronger from the most terrible and most destructive of all wars and consolidated its prestige and influence throughout the world.

The grim war years are receding further and further into the past. New generations of Soviet people have grown up for whom war is history and peace is reality. The Soviet people reject war as a means for resolving interstate, political, and economic contradictions. Asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence, the CPSU is doing everything possible to ease international tension and perceives the struggle against the threat of nuclear war as a most important task. The solution of this task is pursued by the Soviet program for a nuclear-free world, the all-embracing system of international security elaborated by the 27th party congress, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the talks on reducing strategic and offensive arms.

The new approaches to the solution of international problems have started yielding their initial positive results. But not everything depends on our country. It would be irresponsible to underestimate the forces of resistance to positive changes in the international situation. As always imperialism is engaged in saber rattling, nurturing hopes of revising the results of World War II to its advantage, and making attempts to gain military-strategic superiority. Plans are being drawn up for NATO arms upgrading for the purpose of "compensating" for an imaginary "gap" in NATO defense which would supposedly develop as a consequence of the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

This makes it incumbent on us, as always, to carefully follow the development of the military-strategic situation in the world and the content of military preparations by the United States and NATO countries, not to slacken our vigilance, and to enhance the combat readiness of troops so that no intrigues by imperialism can take us unaware.

Thanks to the concern of the Communist Party and the government and the fruitful labor of scientists, designers, and workers in the aviation industry, the Soviet Air Force has reached a qualitatively new stage in its development over the last few years.

The present stage in the Air Force's life is a period of multifaceted intense work to implement the directives of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) and subsequent plenums on restructuring.

The Air Force has quite a few collectives which achieved high indicators in combat and political training to mark the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces and are fittingly preparing for the 19th all-union party conference. They include, for example, the bomber regiment commanded by Colonel V. Maskayev, initiator of socialist competition within the Air Force.

The Air Force's aircraft maintenance enterprises are in their 2d year of operating in the new conditions of economic management. Their collectives have joined with keen interest in the implementation of economic reform and are persistently struggling to implement the set plan tasks. The collectives of enterprises headed by Officers V. Vasilchenko and V. Kupch were awarded CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banners for their results in 1987. These enterprises are more fully applying the new methods of economic management, introducing elements of self-management, overcoming wage leveling, persistently seeking internal reserves to boost labor productivity and output quality, and strengthening labor and production discipline.

For Air Force personnel Victory Day is more than just an occasion to recall with emotion pages from the heroic history of the country and the Armed Forces and to report the successes they have achieved with a sense of properly performed duty; they are also pondering in depth the party's demands and the more complex tasks for the future. The most important of these tasks at the present stage are to raise the Air Force to a qualitatively new level, intensify the practical orientation of servicemen's training, bring every exercise and flight as close as possible to actual combat conditions, and resolutely eradicate stereotypes and simplistic approaches. All combat training must be geared to the achievement of high end results in combat readiness without any flight accidents.

Today's servicemen in the Soviet Air Force are the sons and grandsons of the Great Patriotic war heroes. Continuing and augmenting the glorious traditions of those who fought in it, they—boundlessly loyal to their people and the Communist Party, in united ranks with all servicemen of the Armed Forces, and in combat collaboration with the armies of Warsaw Pact countries—are vigilantly guarding the peaceful creative labor of Soviet people, standing guard over socialism and peace.

Yefimov Hears 'Bullying', Mentorship Concerns

PM1205151188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 88 First Edition pp 1-2

["Direct Line" feature on phone-in with Lieutenant Colonel I. Yefimov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate responsible for Komsomol work and member of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, prepared for publication by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov: "Time To Switch to the Offensive"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Excerpts] As announced, there has been a "Direct Line" conversation between KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers and Lieutenant Colonel I. Yefimov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate responsible for Komsomol work and member of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau. [passage omitted]

[Caller] This is Yuriy Filimonov from Moscow. I finished my army service a long time ago and for me personally it was a good school. But now I read everywhere about nonregulation relations and I cannot understand why the Komsomol does not put a stop to bullying.

[Yefimov] Your question, Yuriy, touches on one of the most painful subjects. Only where have you got the idea that the Komsomol is sitting idle and doing nothing to combat barracks hooliganism? It is doing something to combat this. There is no compromise. Not all our aims have been achieved yet. I will not hide the fact that there are still some military collectives which are not really tackling the problem. But the trend is toward putting matters to rights. There are many strong collectives in the Army and Navy which do not allow nonregulation relations to begin in the first place. There is another side to the problem, however... Experience has shown that obstacles must be placed in the way of this kind of thing not only in the Army but also on the approach to the problem. After all, the people who come to us to serve in the Army are certainly not angels. There are people who have already had brushes with the law, who have managed to taste all the "charms" of an easy life, and who believe in using their fists as the only form of argument. Others come from a very pampered home background... So a critical mass has formed here...

[Vaytser] Sergeant Aleksandr Vaytser here. I serve in the railroad troops. I will go into the reserves soon. But what I want to say is this: Commanders now often instruct the older soldiers to keep their distance from the younger ones. We can do without you here, they say. What does it matter!... I think this kind of attitude is damaging to the traditions of mentorship, which has always existed in the Army.

[Yefimov] Aleksandr, you are undoubtedly right. It is now more important than ever before to teach experienced soldiers and sergeants to act as mentors. As they do, for example in the Guards Training Motorized Rifle Regiment named for the Lenin Komsomol in the Leningrad Military District. But the military servicemen themselves must justify this trust. [passage omitted]

Second World War POW's Problems Addressed

PM1205140588 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA 8 May 1988 and Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 May 1988 carry articles which mention treatment of Soviet POW's on their return home after World War II.

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 1988 Second Edition carries on page 4 a dispatch entitled "They Fought in the Sands," under the "Little-Known Pages of the War" rubric by PRAVDA correspondent V. Belyakov and APN correspondent I. Menshikov. The journalists report on a visit to Al 'Alamayn to seek out the graves of Soviet servicemen who died in the battle there. They point out that, despite their endeavors, they have been unable to track down a single reference to Soviet soldiers in Africa in academic writing or memoirs. However, they discovered that Soviet soldiers did indeed fight and die in North Africa, having joined the British forces after escaping from the Germans. They lament the ignorance of this episode in the war and consequently the lack of recognition of Soviet patriots' contribution here to the anti-fascist struggle. They comment:

"We possess convincing evidence that in 1944 a battalion of former Soviet POW's returned home from North Africa via Iran in a British troop train. Did they guess what a difficult fate awaited them in their homeland? Perhaps! And yet they were desperate to get home."

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 1988 carries on page 3 excerpts from the reminiscences of G. Kondakov under the title "Island of Death in the English Channel," under the "Remembrance" rubric. G. Chernakov, in a short introduction, says that prior to receiving a letter from G. Kondakov at the editorial office, he had not known that Britain's Channel Islands were occupied by the Germans in 1940 or that Hitler's forces set up camps on two tiny outcrops of land—Alderney and Jersey—to which thousands of Soviet citizens were brought. Kondrakov describes his experiences in the Alderney camp. While, he says, there were no gas chambers, crematoriums, or public executions there, the conditions were such that only one in five survived. He also writes that "in the fifties even the word 'repatriate' seemed virtually a synonym of 'enemy of the people.' And even today the attitude to people with a fate similar to mine is ambiguous."